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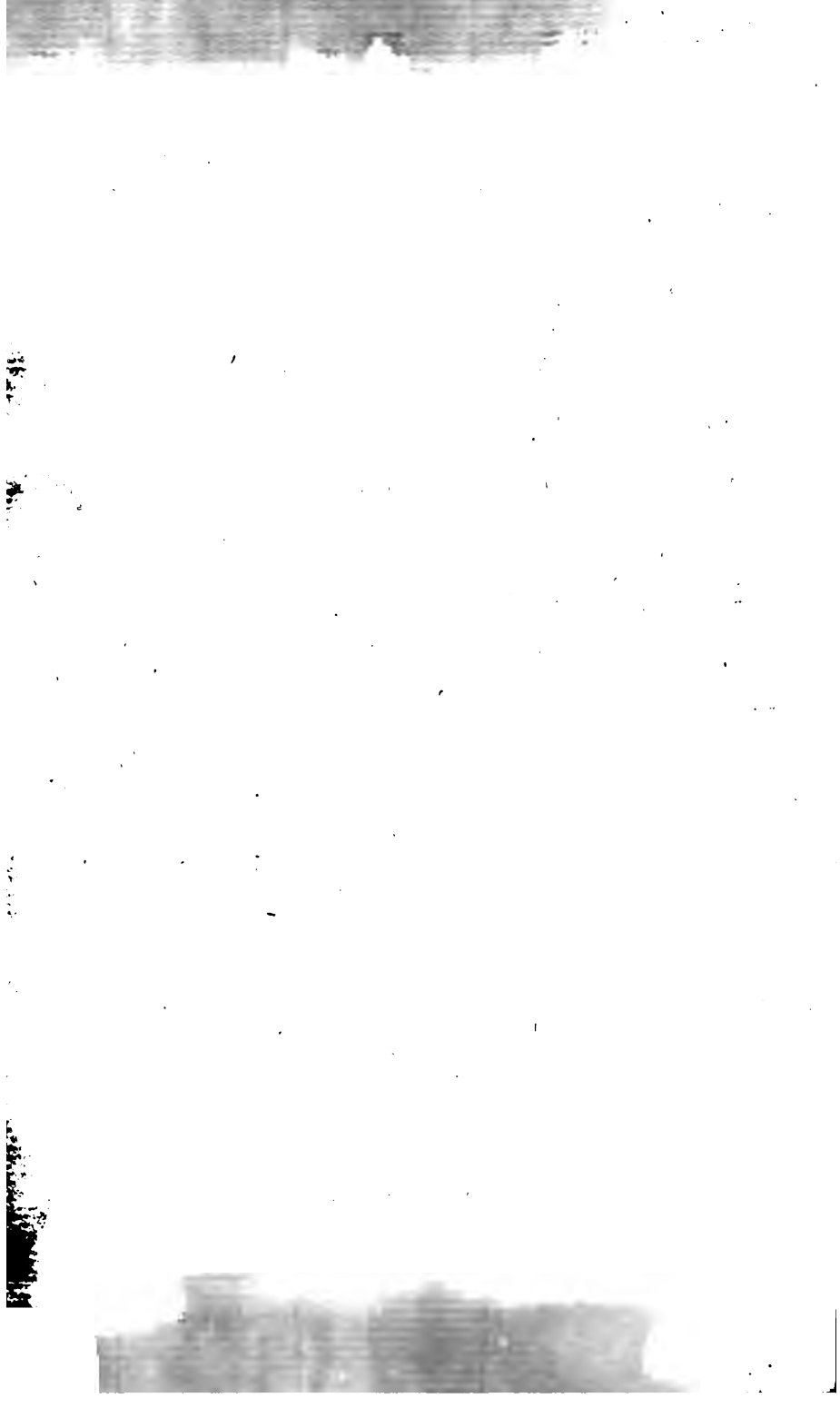
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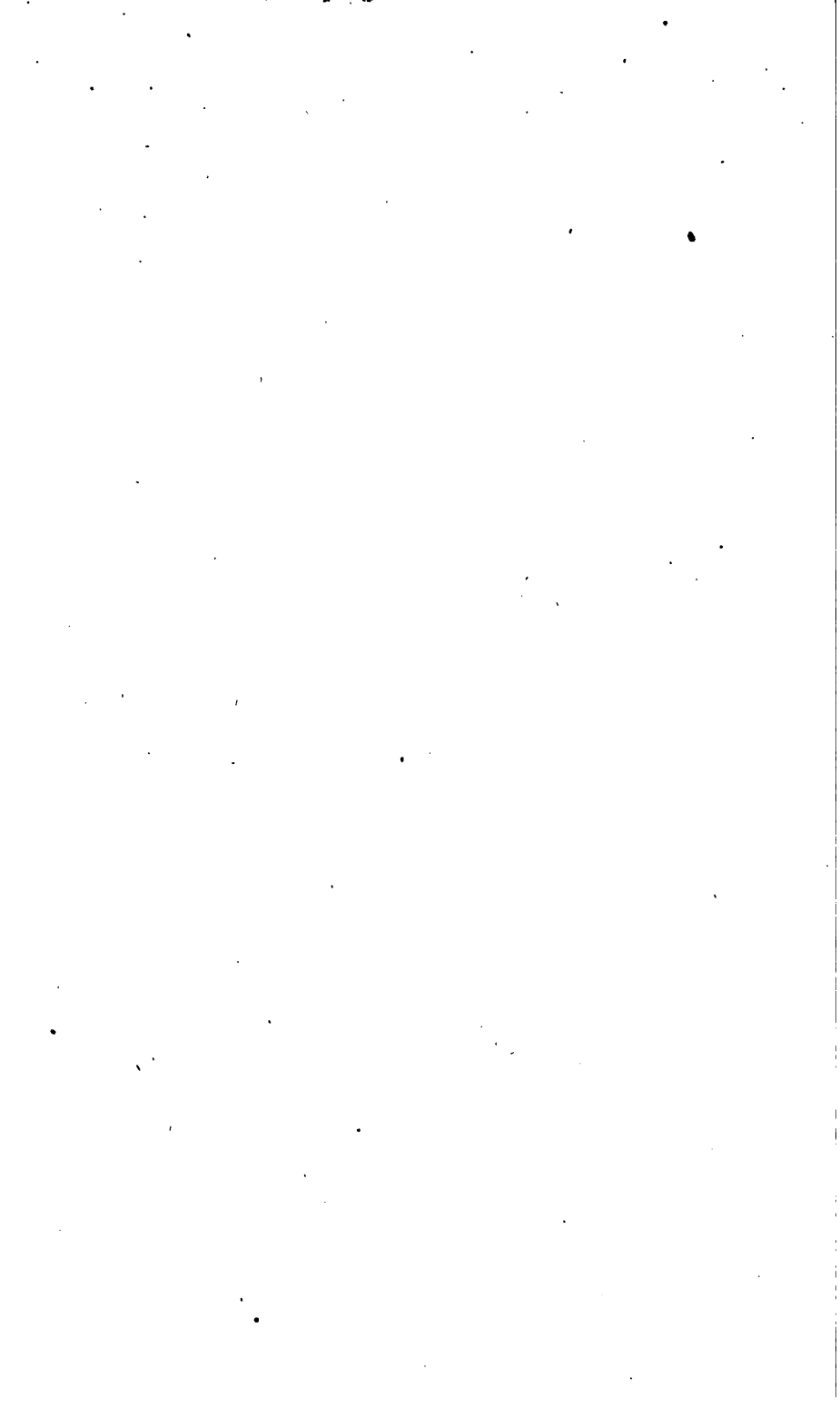
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INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.  
*BY J. D. MICHAELIS.*

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VOL. II. PART I.



INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY  
JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,  
LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM  
THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE GERMAN,  
AND  
CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,

AND A  
DISSERTATION  
ON THE ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION  
OF THE  
THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

BY  
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

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# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

## SACRED WRITINGS

OF THE

### NEW COVENANT.

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#### CHAPTER VII.

#### CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

#### SECT. I.

*Of the Ancient Versions, considered as evidence for the genuine readings of the New Testament.*

**H**AVING inquired into the origin of the various readings, and their internal marks of probability, I have now to examine the external evidence, that may be adduced in their favour, which consists either in ancient versions, ancient manuscripts, or quotations from the New Testament, in the works of ecclesiastical writers<sup>1</sup>. As a knowledge of the ancient versions is requisite, before a proper judgement can be formed of the value of the Greek manuscripts, many of the latter having been suspected, though I believe unjustly, of being interpolated from the former, our first attention must be directed to the different translations that were made from the Greek Testament in the early ages of Christianity. A critical inquiry therefore into these translations shall

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form the subject of the present chapter ; but I will premise some general observations on the nature of their evidence, in regard to the various readings of the New Testament.

In cases where the sense is not affected by different readings, or the translator might have taken them for synonymous, the evidence of the Greek manuscripts is to be preferred to that of an ancient version. The same preference is due to the manuscripts, wherever the translator has omitted words, that appeared of little importance, or a passage in the Greek original is attended with a difficulty, which the translator was unable to solve, and therefore either omitted or altered, according to the arbitrary dictates of his own judgement.

On the other hand, there are cases, in which the ancient versions are of more authority, than the original itself. The greatest part of those, which will be examined in this chapter, surpass in antiquity the oldest Greek manuscripts that are now extant; and they lead to a discovery of the readings in the very ancient manuscript, that was used by the translator. By their means, rather than from the aid of our Greek manuscripts, none of which is prior to the sixth century, we arrive at the certain knowledge that the sacred writings have been transmitted from the earliest to the present age without material alteration ; and that our present text, if we except the passages, that are rendered doubtful by an opposition in the readings, is the same which proceeded from the hands of the Apostles. Whenever the reading can be precisely determined, which the translator found in his Greek manuscript, the version is of equal authority with a manuscript of that period ; but as it is sometimes difficult to acquire this absolute certainty, great caution is necessary in collecting readings from the ancient versions. Of the causes which create this difficulty, the reader will find a full account in my father's *Tractatio critica de variis N. T. lectionibus*, § 37—48.

Those versions, in which the Greek is rendered word or word, and the idioms of the original, though harsh  
and

and often unmeaning in another language, are still retained in the translation, are of more value in point of criticism than those which express the sense of the original in a manner more suitable to the language of the translator. The value of the latter, as far as regards their critical application, decreases in proportion as the translator attends to purity and elegance, and of course deviates from his original; but their worth is greater in all other respects, as they are not only read with greater pleasure, but understood in general with greater ease. By means of the former we discover the words of the original, and even their arrangement; but the latter are of no use in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, if the various readings of the passage in question make no alteration in the sense. No translation is more literal than the New Syriac, and none therefore leads to a more immediate discovery of the text in the ancient manuscript, from which the version was taken; but, setting this advantage aside, the Old Syriac is of much greater value than the New.

The Latin translations of the Oriental versions, which are printed in the Polyglot Bibles, are wretched in an higher degree than can be imagined<sup>2</sup>; and whoever relies on their authority in support of a reading, like Mill and Wettstein, will inevitably fall into error. Another circumstance to which attention must be given is, that some of the ancient versions have in many places suffered alterations; and great care must be taken to distinguish the modern amendments from the genuine text of the ancient translator. Lastly, those translations, which were not immediately taken from the Greek, are of no authority in determining the genuine text of the original, but only of that version from which they were taken. For instance, all the Spanish, French, and German translations of the New Testament, made before the sixteenth century, were taken immediately from the Latin, and therefore even in those examples where they are unanimous in a reading, their united voices are of no more authority than that of the Latin version alone.

As it is not my intention to write a general history of the versions of the New Testament<sup>1</sup>, I shall confine my inquiries to those which admit a critical application: these are the Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Æthiopic, Armenian, Persian, Latin, Gothic, Anglo-saxon, and Russian.

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## S E C T. II.

### *Of the different editions of the Syriac version.*

**T**HE best accounts, which we formerly had of the Syriac version, were in Simon's *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament*<sup>2</sup>, but as most other writers on this subject have betrayed a want of knowledge, the reader will excuse the prolixity, which is unavoidable on the present occasion; and I hope the more to be favoured with this indulgence, as a minute inquiry into the Syriac version, since the first publication of this work, has enabled me to communicate a great variety of information, in regard to a question that has not been sufficiently examined. I published in the year 1755 a book entitled *Curæ in versionem Syriacam actuum apostolicorum, cum confectariis criticis de indole, cognationibus, et usu Versionis Syriacæ tabularum Novi Fœderis*, to which I shall frequently refer in the course of the present chapter, though thirty years study and experience since that period have induced me in some points to change my opinion. Being unwilling to transcribe from a work that is easily procured, I presuppose it in the hands of my readers, as it will greatly facilitate a right understanding of the following remarks. Of the various editions of the Syriac New Testament, especially that of Widmanstad, a circumstantial account may be seen in the second volume of Hirt's *Orientalische Bibliothek*<sup>3</sup>; a book to which I acknowledge my obligations for the correction of several errors in the two first editions of this Introduction, occasioned by the misfortune of being unable to procure the different editions of the Syriac version,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 13, 14, 15.

version, and being obliged therefore to rely on accounts, which I have since found to be erroneous.

The old Syriac version, which must be carefully distinguished from those made in a later period, contains only the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles of St. Paul including that to the Hebrews, the first epistle of St. John, the first epistle of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. James. It is called by the Syrians Peshito, that is, the literal, though in fact it is much less so than the new Syriac version, which will be described in a following section<sup>2</sup>. It has neither the story of the adulteress in the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel, nor the celebrated passage 1 John v. 7. on which the reader may consult *Assemani Bibliotheca orientalis*, Tom. II. p. 279. This version, which is that of our common editions, is in general use among the Syrian Christians of every denomination, whether Nestorians, Jacobites, or Maronites<sup>3</sup>.

The epistle to the Hebrews, though contained in all the copies of the Peshito, seems not to have been translated by the same person who translated the other books of the New Testament. It is true that the language is equally pure, and the version made with equal fluency and ease; yet there is a manifest difference in the modes of expression, a circumstance to which my attention was first directed by my late father, when he instructed me in Syriac, and which induced him to ascribe the version of this epistle to a different translator. In the other books of the New Testament ܐܠܗܐ is used to signify a Priest, and ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ; a High Priest; but in the epistle to the Hebrews, instead of these words, we find constantly ܐܠܗܐ, and ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ, whence ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ is used for Priesthood, a difference which is the more striking, because the translator of the other books has never taken ܐܠܗܐ but in the sense of an Heathen Priest<sup>4</sup>. This difference is retained even in the Erpenian Arabic translation of the

<sup>2</sup> See Simon *Hist. critique des Vers. du N. T.* p. 159. and *Waltoni Prolegom.* XIII. § 18.

<sup>3</sup> See *Acts* xiv. 12.

the Syriac version, the Arabic translator having used in the epistle to the Hebrews a different expression, which is found in that sense in no Arabic Lexicon, namely, *حبرية*, *عظيم اخبار*, *ربيب اخبار*, *حبر*. After long wavering on this subject, and being inclined either to the affirmative or the negative, as new observations occurred, my doubts have been very lately removed by a discovery, which has confirmed me in the opinion of my father. It relates to Heb. iii. 7. and iv. 7. in which passages a quotation is made from Psalm xcv. 7. *אם בקול תשמעו*, where the prefix *אם*, which is not rendered in the Septuagint, gives the Hebrew a sense different from that of the Greek<sup>d</sup>; yet the Syriac translator has precisely expressed what is found in the Hebrew, namely, *ܐܡ ܒܩܠܐ ܬܫܡܥܘ*. I immediately referred to the Syriac version of the Psalms, and found the very same words, which are used by the translator of this epistle; whence it is natural to suppose that he copied the quotation from the Syriac Psalms, and this supposition is rendered more probable by the circumstance, that, when no allusion is made to this Psalm, as Heb. iii. 15. where the author himself speaks, the translator has *ܐܡ ܒܩܠܐ ܬܫܡܥܘ*. I then compared Heb. iii. 7—11. with Psalm xcv. 7—11. and found that these two whole passages agreed word for word in the Syriac Psalms and version of this epistle, with this only exception, that the translator of this epistle has inserted in the tenth verse *ܐܡ ܒܩܠܐ*, because *ܐܡ* was used in the Greek, which he thought improper to omit. Another extraordinary circumstance is, that throughout the whole epistle where *κατα ταύτην Μελχισεδεκ* stands in the Greek, we find in the Syriac translation *ܒܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܡܠܚܝܫܝܕܝܟ*, i. e. 'in the likeness of Melchisedek', exactly in the same manner as in the Syriac Psalm cx. 4. and where this verse is quoted in the epistle to the Hebrews, namely ch. vii. 21. instead of *ε μεταμεληθησεται*, a verb is used in the Syriac version

<sup>d</sup> See note 76 to the epistle to the Hebrews. 4

<sup>e</sup> It may be also observed, that Melchisedek, had it been taken from the Greek, would have been probably written not with Zain but with Samech, *ܡܠܚܝܫܝܕܝܟ*. See the Syriac Grammar<sup>1</sup>, § 9.

version which signifies 'to lie,' or 'to deceive,' a circumstance in which the Syriac epistle again harmonizes with the passage in the Syriac Psalms, where, though a different verb is used, yet it has precisely the same sense. The passage in the Psalms is *ܠܐ ܝܬܪ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ*, in the epistle *ܠܐ ܝܬܪ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ*. Since therefore the Syriac translator of the epistle to the Hebrews has copied the quotation from the Syriac version of the Psalms, the former was of course translated in a period subsequent to the latter, and as the Syrian Christians undoubtedly translated the New Testament before the Old, the real state of the case appears to be as follows :

\* If it be asked, whether this coincidence with the Syriac version of the Psalms takes place in every quotation from that book in the epistle to the Hebrews, I answer in the negative. On a comparison I found the proportion to be as follows :

1) Heb. i. 5. corresponds exactly to Psalm ii. 7. and Heb. i. 7. to Psalm civ. 4. That in the first of these examples we find *ܠܐ* in the epistle, *ܠܐܐ* in the Psalm, is of no importance, for the author of the Erpe-  
nian Arabic version must have found *ܠܐܐ*, as he has translated it by *ولان*. These examples, however, afford no positive proof, since the coincidence might arise from mere accident<sup>6</sup>.

2) The following passages are so nearly alike that the difference would perhaps vanish, if we had various readings to both versions, viz. Heb. i. 8, 9. to Psalm xlv. 7, 8. and Heb. i. 13. to Psalm cx. 1.<sup>7</sup>

3) The following passages differ from each other, but it must be remarked, that this difference is occasioned by the circumstance that these quotations in the Greek text of the epistle to the Hebrews, differ from the Hebrew text and Syriac version of the Psalms, viz. Heb. i. 6. Psalm xcvi. 7. where it is even doubted whether this or another Psalm is quoted. Heb. i. 10, 11, 12. Psalm cii. 26—28. Heb. ii. 6—8. Psalm viii. 5—8. where the fine language of the Syriac Psalm is so different from that of the Septuagint and the quotation in the epistle, that it could hardly be admitted in the translation of the epistle<sup>8</sup>. Heb. x. 5—7. Psalm xl. 7—9. where no faithful translator could have adopted the text of the Syriac Psalm, which has *ܠܐ ܝܬܪ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ*, *aures mihi perfodisti*, whereas that of the quotation in the epistle, which follows the text of the Septuagint, is *συνα κρηνησαν μου*. It was therefore necessary to give a new translation.

lows: The old Syriac translator made his version from the earliest collection of the books of the New Testament, in which the epistle to the Hebrews was not contained, because its authority was doubted; to the translation of the New Testament followed that of the Old, and in the mean time the epistle to the Hebrews having been admitted into the sacred canon, it was afterwards translated into Syriac by a different person; who this person was, and in what age he lived, a total want of historical accounts makes it impossible to determine.

This version was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, whose life is related at large in *Assemani bibliotheca orientalis*<sup>8</sup>. He was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in the year 1552, to pope Julius III. to acknowledge in the name of the Syrian church the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and was commissioned at the same time to have the Syriac New Testament printed in Europe<sup>9</sup>. No one could be found either at Rome or at Venice, who would undertake the work: but at last Albert Widmanstad, who had before learnt Syriac<sup>10</sup>, and received further instruction from Moses, prevailed with the emperor Ferdinand the First to be at the expence of the impression, which was committed to the care of Moses, and Widmanstad<sup>11</sup>, who for some time were assisted by William Postell<sup>1</sup>. To these persons we are indebted for the first edition of the Syriac New Testament, printed at Vienna in 1555<sup>2</sup>, in which

<sup>8</sup> Tom. I. p. 535.

<sup>9</sup> Widmanstad assumed in Italy the name of Johannes Lucretius.

<sup>1</sup> See Hirt's *Orient. Bib.* Vol. II. p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> The occasion of the mistake, into which some of the learned have fallen, that this edition was printed in 1562, is assigned by Dr. Hirt, p. 266, 267, and 285—288. Namely, in some of the copies, on the reverse of the title page, are the arms of the printer Zymmermann, with the following subscription, Cum Rom. Cæs. Maj. gratia et privilegio cautum est ut nemo deinceps hoc opus imprimat. Viennæ Austriæ excudēbat Michael Zymmermann, Anno M.D.LXII. Dr. Hirt supposes with great probability, that this was the year in which the printer purchased the remainder of the copies which the emperor had reserved for sale. In the copy, preserved

which the two last epistles of St. John, the second of St. Peter, the epistle of St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John are wanting. A thousand copies were printed, of which the emperor reserved to himself five hundred for sale, sent three hundred to the two Syrian patriarchs, and made a present to Moses of two hundred copies, together with twenty dollars. An account of this beautiful and exceedingly scarce edition may be found in Simon Hist. Crit. p. 171. in the second part of the first volume of the Memoirs of a Library in Halle<sup>13</sup>, p. 91. and particularly in Hirt's Orient. Bibliothek<sup>14</sup>. Professor Bruns has observed in the fifteenth volume of the Repertorium, p. 154. that among the errata, subjoined to this edition, are four various readings marked with an asterisk, which are not taken from Syriac manuscripts, but from Greek editions; and it was therefore an error to admit them into the later editions of the Syriac version<sup>15</sup>. This Editio Princeps will ever retain its intrinsic value.

The other editions are described in Andr. Mülleri Dissert. de versionibus Syriacis, printed in his Symbolæ Syriacæ<sup>16</sup>, to whose account several additions have been made by Bruns, p. 157. of the Repertorium published by Eichhorn.

2. Tremellius's edition at Geneva 1569, in folio<sup>1</sup>. It is a copy of the former, though not in Syriac but Hebrew letters. The Greek text with Beza's version, is printed with it, to which Tremellius added a Latin translation of the Syriac, which is said to be very literal<sup>17</sup>. He had a Syriac manuscript from the Heidelberg library, of which he is accused by Simon of having made little or no use; but whether the charge is grounded I am unable to determine, as this edition is neither in my library  
nor

served in the University library at Gottingen, are the arms and subscription, but in that of which I am in possession, they are wanting<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It has been said that the original edition appeared at Heidelberg in 1568, to which Dr. Hirt replies, p. 290. that the work was printed at Geneva in 1569, though the dedication is dated Heidelberg, 1 March 1568.



nor in that of our university<sup>18</sup>. One circumstance I recollect in particular, having once borrowed it from Professor Weber, that it is printed with Chaldee points; and Bruns has observed<sup>19</sup>, that Jod is used as the prefix of the third person of the future, instead of the Syriac Nun. It might be called therefore with more propriety a Chaldee than a Syriac New Testament, and perhaps Tremellius, who was himself of Jewish origin, was induced to make the alteration by the hope of converting his brethren<sup>20</sup>. A more circumstantial account of this edition may be seen in Hirt's *Orientalische Bibliothek*<sup>21</sup>, Vol. II. p. 289—294.

3. The Antwerp edition, in the fifth volume of the *Biblia Regia*<sup>22</sup>. I refer this edition to the year 1571, because the dedication of the 5th volume of the *Biblia Regia* is Antwerpæ 1571, Calendis Julii, and the subscription at the end of the volume is Antwerpæ. excudebat Plantinus Regius Prototypographus Anno c1571 LXXI. Kal. Februarii. The Syriac text is twice printed in this edition, in the first column with Syriac letters and points, of which the typographical execution is not the most beautiful, and secondly under the other texts with Hebrew letters and Chaldee points. The latter was done with a view of rendering the New Testament intelligible to the Jews, and of converting them to the Christian religion, as we are informed by Guido Fabricius de la Boderie, who wrote for that purpose the Syriac text in Hebrew letters: he was likewise the author of the Latin version, as appears from the preface to the edition which will be mentioned N° 6. Several passages were altered according to a manuscript, which William Postell brought from the East<sup>23</sup>, and in the seventh volume of the Antwerp Polyglot are various readings collected by the above-mentioned Fabricius.

In this edition are omitted those books and passages which make no part of the old Syriac version, namely, the story of the adulteress, 1 John v. 7. the second and third epistles of St. John, &c. The subscription which is placed at the end of the first epistle of St. John is as follows:

follows: Hunc novi testamenti textum Syriacum, ac ejusdem characteribus Hebræis descripti Latinam ab eruditissimo viro Guidone Fabricio Boderiano factam versionem nos infra scripti theologi (quibus Philippi Catholici regis mandato a Lovaniensi academia et facultate theologica id munus commissum fuerat) accurata disquisitione examinavimus, examinatumque comprobavimus, et tam ad ipsum textum latinum Vulgatæ versionis quam ad exemplar Græcum plurimis locis illustrandum utilem judicavimus. Calendis Juniis Anno CICICLXX. Augustinus Hunnæus sacræ theologiæ ordinarius et regius professor, Cornelius Reineri Goudanus sacræ theologiæ professor ordinarius.

Ego Benedictus Arias Montanus Hispalensis, Doctor Theologus, et Philippi Catholici Regis Legatus hunc novi testamenti librum lingua et characteribus Syris excusum, ejusdemque literis Hebraicis exscriptionem per Guidonem Fabricium Boderianum, natione Gallum, factam diligenter recensui et approbavi. Anno Christi CICICLXX.

Cæteræ Canonicae, et Apocalypsis, licet extent apud Syros, tamen et in exemplaribus quæ secutus est Widmanstadius, et antiquissimo codice manuscripto, quo usi sumus, defuerunt.

It appears then from this subscription that the editors were in possession of an ancient manuscript<sup>24</sup>, in which the four catholic epistles and the book of Revelation, as making no part of the old Syriac version, were wanting, and that the omission of 1 John v. 7. was approved by Censors of the church of Rome, who ventured not, as we protestants have done, to obtrude a spurious passage on the Syriac text<sup>25</sup>.

4. An Antwerp edition, in octavo, in Hebrew letters without points, on 121 pages at the press of Plantin. At the end of the volume are various readings, collected by Francis Rapheling, from a Cologne manuscript, with the title *Variae lectiones ex N. T. Syriaci mscr. codice Colonienfi nuper a Fr. Raph. collectæ*; they are likewise in the Antwerp Polyglot. Hirt is doubtful whether  
this

this edition ought to be considered as a supplement to the Hebrew Bible printed by Plantin in 1573 and 1574, or be referred to the same year with the following edition; a doubt which I am unable to remove<sup>26</sup>. I have been informed by a friend, that there is a copy of this edition in the Weimar library with various readings, which some one has written in the margin from a Codex Viennensis, but without giving any description of this manuscript<sup>27</sup>. This copy might be of use in biblical criticism.

5. An Antwerp edition, in 16<sup>th</sup>, consisting of 380 pages, likewise from the press of Plantin, with Raphel-ling's various readings, printed, like the foregoing, with Hebrew letters<sup>1</sup>.

Two other Antwerp editions are mentioned by Müller, printed in Syriac letters, the one 1567, the other 1620. But the former, according to Masch's account, is the same with the Polyglot mentioned No. 3. and the latter is either the same with Trost's edition, or has never existed.

6. The Paris edition of 1584, under the title of *Novum Testamentum*, נְוִם תִּשְׁתָּמֵנְתִּי, η καινη διαθηκη, *Novum Jesu Christi D. N. Testamentum*. *Ad Christianissimum Galliae et Poloniae regem Henricum III. Potentiss. et Inviictiss. Principem, Christianae religionis vindicem et assertorem unicum*. Parisiis MDLXXXIIII. Apud Johannem Benenatum. This edition contains the Greek text, the Vulgate, and, what is the most material, the Syriac version<sup>29</sup>, accompanied with a Latin translation over each line, but this translation is different from that in the Antwerp Polyglot, and is less literal. Those books, and passages which belong not to the old Syriac version, are faithfully omitted, though the columns of the Greek and Latin texts are continued: but we must except the interpolation at the end of the epistle to the Romans, which neither formed a part of the old Syriac version, nor was admitted into the first editions. I will not accuse Le Fevre<sup>30</sup>, because it does not appear that he

<sup>1</sup> See Hirt's *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 296.<sup>28</sup>

he himself took part in the work, though he promoted it, and wrote the dedication<sup>m</sup>. Perhaps it was inserted by the printer; but whoever was the person to whom it must be ascribed<sup>n</sup>, he has produced in this instance a false copy of the Syriac text.

The dedication written by Le Fevre, and addressed to Henry III. is a master-piece of pedantry and superstition, yet, though it cannot be read without laughter, it contains several important accounts, especially those which relate to the Syriac editions of the New Testament with Hebrew types. This writer was a profound linguist, and zealous advocate for the Catholic religion, but incredibly weak and superstitious. He describes to the pious Henry the signs and wonders which should precede the second coming of the Son of man, among which he reckons the foundation of the French order of knights du Saint Esprit, which he considers as a second instance in which the prophecy was fulfilled of the effusion of the Holy Ghost, and subjoins an account of several extraordinary appearances in the heavens, observed at Meissen in Saxony. A general conversion of unbelievers was likewise to take place, for which purpose the king of France was to declare war on the Turks, and be assisted in the expedition by the first-born Son of the Church, but the conversion of the Jews was to be effected by printing the Syriac New Testament in Hebrew letters. Speaking of the Antwerp Polyglot, p. 16. he says, in quâ, præter cæteros labores, mihi cum aliis doctis

<sup>m</sup> Le Fevre, p. 16. of the dedication, writes as follows: Cum anno 1581, regia majestas tua in aulam suam istinc me avocasset, certior factus sum typographum Benenatum (quod equidem nomen illi maxime convenit, quippe qui ad id unum natus et a natura conformatus videatur, ut bonas literas, et imprimis sacras, sua sedulitate promoveat) secundam editionem secundum exscriptionem meam literis Hebraicis sed absque punctis feliciter inchoasse, miro quidem gaudio sum perfusus, utque ab incepto non desisteret eum vehementer sum adhortatus: et quidem nisi alia negotia non minoris forsan momenti me domum revocassent, eum lubentur mea qualicunque opera in totius operis editione sublevassem.

<sup>n</sup> Perhaps to Benenatus (Bienné) himself, for Le Fevre, p. 17. ascribes to him multæ et diuturnæ vigiliæ et indefessi labores.

doctis communes; Novum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Testamentum ex caractere Syro in Literas Hebraicas transcripsi ac latinæ interpretationis facibus collustravi; Bibliorum vero apparatus lexicon Syro-Chaldaicum et Rabbinicum adjeci, ut lingua Syra, incarnati Verbi ore divino consecrata, Virgini Mariæ Deigenitrici popularis, apostolis omnibus vernacula et in qua Christus ipse evangelium suum promulgavit quam latissime fieri possent, per universam ecclesiam diffunderetur, ut et Christiani et Judæi profelyti ejus beneficio juvarentur, illi quidem ut in officio retinerentur, magisque ac magis confirmarentur, hi autem ad veritatis cognitionem adducerentur, et a castris Moïsis, tanquam a primipilo ad imperatorem, in castra Christi se reciperent. It appears then the Hebræo-Syriac editions of the New Testament were designed to answer the same end as the Jewish-German versions, published by order of the Callenberg institution.

7. Elias Hutter, in his *Opus duodecim linguarum*, or Edition of the New Testament in twelve languages, published in 1599, inserted likewise the Syriac version, and because several books were wanting in the preceding editions, he undertook the useless and ridiculous labour of translating them himself into Syriac, with the story of the adulteress in St. John's Gospel, as if it were a matter of importance to have a modern translation of a book, which we are able to read in the original. Besides, it has a great number of faults\*, and hardly deserves a place in a library<sup>†</sup>.

8. The Cöthen edition, by Martin Trost, 1621<sup>p</sup>, 4<sup>to</sup>. It is printed in Syriac letters, is in several places pointed, has a translation, and a collection of various readings, which were printed by Walton, in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot<sup>‡</sup>. Those parts, which belong not to the old Syriac version, Trost has very properly omitted<sup>§</sup>.

9. In

\* See the remarks of Bruns in the *Repertorium*. Vol. XV. p. 159<sup>‡</sup>.

† Some of the copies have on the title-page the date 1622.

9. In the mean time Lud. de Dieu published the Revelation of St. John, from a manuscript formerly in the possession of Scaliger<sup>35</sup>, which I believe to be very faulty, in 1627, at Leyden, and reprinted it in 1643, as an Appendix to his *Animadversiones in loca difficiliora V. et N. Testamenti*<sup>36</sup>, in Syriac and Hebrew letters.

10. Pococke published at Leyden, 1630, from English manuscripts<sup>37</sup>, the four epistles wanting in the old Syriac, namely, the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the epistle of St. Jude<sup>38</sup>.

11. All these parts of the Syriac New Testament were collected and published in the Paris Polyglot, in Syriac letters. I have a strong suspicion that the text of this edition has been altered from mere conjecture, at least many passages in the book of Revelation differ from the first edition, without any reason being assigned for the alteration; and Gabriel Sionita, who had the care of the Paris Polyglot, was not a man on whom we can rely<sup>39</sup>. The Latin translations, which he has given of the Syriac Old and New Testament, are executed with the greatest inaccuracy, though the task of a translator is easier than that of a critic. In almost every page we may discover errors, that betray either hurry or ignorance, and not seldom both qualities united. The Syrians in general make use of vowel-points in those places only, where their absence might occasion ambiguity<sup>40</sup>, but Gabriel Sionita has added them in every word. In the arrangement of his points he has abided by a strict analogy, from which modern grammarians have derived their rules; whether this analogy was founded on the authority of Syriac manuscripts, or his own conjecture, I will not pretend to determine, but it is certain that the Roman editions, published by the Assemans, differ in many cases from his method of pointing. The more I consider him as a critic, the less reason

<sup>39</sup> For a description of the two last-mentioned editions, see Hirt's *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 309—312<sup>38</sup>.



from those in mine, and produced frequently the very same reading which Gutbier, in his *Notæ criticae*, had alleged as that of the London Polyglot, and as different from his own. Another extraordinary circumstance is, that in some copies the figures prefixed to each verse are smaller in the Gospel of St. Matthew, than in the remainder of the New Testament, but in others they are of the same size. These difficulties I can solve in no other manner, than by supposing that the work has undergone several editions, though the date is the same in each<sup>43</sup>. An edition is said to have been published at Leipzig in 1748, and another at Hamburg in 1749, but I doubt of the existence of both, as no one, to my knowledge, has seen a copy of either, and since that time the book is become really scarce.

14. Christian Knorre of Rosenroth, published at Sultzbach in 1684, the Syriac New Testament in Hebrew letters without points. This edition I have never seen, but Schaaf, in the preface to his Syriac Testament, says, that it is only a re-impression of the Antwerp edition<sup>44</sup> mentioned above, No. 4. and No. 5.

15. The very best edition of the Syriac New Testament is undoubtedly that of Leyden, published by Schaaf in 1709, and reprinted in 1717<sup>45</sup>. The very excellent Lexicon which is annexed to it will ever retain its value, being, as far as regards the New Testament, extremely accurate and complete, and supplying in some measure the place of a concordance. The *variæ N. T. versionis Syriacæ lectiones ex omnibus editionibus multo sudore collectæ* are the best collection which have hitherto been given. The Latin translation is the only part of the work which had been better omitted; not that any objection can be made to its accuracy, but because it enhances the price of a most useful edition, and a translation of the Syriac Testament is unnecessary for a scholar, who has devoted half a year's diligence to that language. The editor says, in his preface, '*ut textus Syrus intellectu facilius esset, ad latus adjunxi versionem latinam, ex omnibus ejus versionibus latinis,*



imprimis Tremelliana, et ubicunque mihi videbatur commodum, propria opera compositam.' Schaaf, in common with several other editors, has been guilty of interpolating 1 John v. 7. not on the authority of a manuscript, but from the Syriac translation, which Tremellius made of this verse from the Latin. He has likewise interpolated in other places, as Acts viii. 37. xv. 34. See my *Curæ in actus apost. syr.* p. 100. and 118.

With respect to the arrangement of the vowels, Schaaf, and Leusden who assisted at the commencement of the work, were of different sentiments, but the former, though undoubtedly in the right, submitted through respect to the latter, regarding him, as he himself expresses it, like a father. The work was printed as far as Luke xv. 20. when Leusden died, and from Luke xviii. 27. where a new sheet begins, the points are arranged according to the better judgement of Schaaf.

16. Lastly, the Syriac version of the New Testament was published at Leipzig 1713, fol. in *Christiani Rein-  
eccii Biblia quadrilingua* <sup>46</sup>.

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### S E C T. III.

#### *Of the manuscripts of the old Syriac version.*

**T**HOUGH the Syriac New Testament has been so frequently printed, yet as this version is of the greatest importance, a new edition, corrected from the most authentic manuscripts, is still wanting. In the *Curæ in Actus Apost.* I have taken notice of several faults in our present editions, and in confirmation of my remarks have appealed to the Arabic version made from the Syriac: several of these remarks, especially that on Acts xii. 10. have been again confirmed by a very ancient manuscript, in the possession of Mr. Ridley. In this manuscript, the four Gospels are a copy of the ver-  
sion

sion of Philoxenus, but the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles, are the old Syriac<sup>1</sup>. As appears from the subscription, it belonged in the twelfth century to Dionysius Barfilibæus, a man of great renown among the Syrians, who corrected in several places what seemed to be erroneous. In the preface to the Curæ, p. 11, 12. are given several examples, in which it differs in the Acts of the Apostles from our printed editions<sup>2</sup>, and I will here produce several others where the common text is probably spurious. Matth. ix. 36. all the editions, not excepting the Editio princeps of Widmanstad, have for *ἐροισιμμένοι*, *من* soluti, a manifest erratum for *مب* projecti, the reading of the Philoxenian version. Mark xiii. 37. for *πασι λεγω*, the common text has *لجميع* that is *πασιν υμιν*, again an erratum for *جميع* omnibus, as in the Philoxenian version<sup>3</sup>. The 'seven stadia,' *سبعة امداد*, for *σαββατε οδον*<sup>4</sup>, which I mentioned in the Curæ, p. 55. as probably a modern scholion, because the Erpenian Arabic version expresses simply 'a sabbath day's journey,' no one will undertake to defend, who has read the observations of Ludovicus de Dieu on this passage. Acts ii. 42. for *κοινωνια* we find *اودعهم*<sup>5</sup>, but it is very improbable, that, in the time of the old Syriac translator, *κοινωνια* had received the church sense of the word, 'communion of the sacrament;' and what is extraordinary, *ευχαριστια* is written in Syriac characters, when a different word is used in the original, though it was not the usual practice of the Syriac translator to adopt Greek words on other occasions<sup>6</sup>. The author of the Erpenian Arabic version, who translated from the old Syriac, found no such reading in his time, having rendered the passage *وكانوا يشربون في الصلاة وفي الكسر الخبز*, where he has simply and literally expressed *κοινωνια*<sup>7</sup>. If we except Acts xx. 7. where the Arabic translator has a different expression, *جسد المسيح*, corpus Christi, we find *اودعهم* in no other part of the Syriac version, and even there it is probably spurious, and borrowed from the usage of a later church<sup>8</sup>.

Heb. iv. 3. καθως ειρηκε, for which no various reading is found, is expressed in the Syriac by *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, an interrogation instead of an affirmation: this is undoubtedly an erratum for *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, as my father remarked in the margin of his Syriac Testament, for the Erp. Arab. version has *كَيْفَ قَالَ*. Heb. iv. 12. after *αῤῥαμων τε και μυελων* in the Syriac version, is added a word that expresses *οσσεων*, though found in not a single Greek manuscript: the text in this passage is *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ* and though spurious, is as ancient as the time of the Arabic translator, who has rendered it by *والعروق والدماغ والعظام*: but the interpolation betrays itself by a grammatical error, for *Dolath* ought to have been repeated, and the word written *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*. The Syriac text, Heb. vii. 11. *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, which is translated in the Polyglots, *sed dixit, in similitudinem Aharon erit*, is real nonsense, and even subversive of the author's design: it ought to be *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ* et non dixit, as in the Erp. Arab. version *ولم يقل*. Heb. vii. 21. *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, per Davidem, is a modern interpolation, as it is not only wanting in the Greek manuscripts, but also omitted by the Arabic translator. 2 Pet. ii. 1. *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, in mundo, is an evident erratum for *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, in populo, as in the Erp. Arab. version *في الشعب*. Ver. 17. for *υπε λαλαπος*, the Syriac version has *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, an evident erratum for *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, as remarked by my father in the margin of his Polyglot, the reading of the Erp. Ar. version being *العجاجة*. Ver. 18. for *υπεροχκα*, the Syriac version has *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ* *refus*, which my father supposed to be an error for *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*, as in the Erp. Ar. version we find *اكباير*.

Mistakes of this kind I find continually in reading the Syriac New Testament, and I am persuaded therefore, not only that our common text of this admirable version deviates from the genuine original, but that a multiplication of editions has been only a multiplication of errors.

A Syriac manuscript of the Gospels, preserved at Nureaberg, was collated, as far as relates to the two first Evangelists,

Evangelists, by John Ernest Gerhard the elder, who published at Wittenberg in 1646, three, if not more, *Exercitationes ad N. T. Syriacum*, in the two first of which he gives a description of the manuscript, and in the third quotes and criticises the various readings. Perhaps he was too minutely attentive to the difference of punctuation, in cases where it regards only grammatical trifles, yet he has shewn himself a man of profound learning in his five-and-twentieth year. Afterwards John Albrecht published at Jena, in 1666, *Variae lectiones versionis Syriacæ e bibliotheca Gerhardiana*, which collection had been made by Gerhard, from St. Matthew and St. Mark, but the preface was written by Albrecht, and contains a description of the Nuremberg manuscript. From John ix. 48. to the end, it is written by a different hand, is pointed throughout, which is not usual among the Syrians, and the subscription, written by the same hand as the latter part, bears date A. C. 1246. Bruns has likewise communicated various readings, from a Wolfenbüttel manuscript of the four Gospels, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Vol. XV. p. 163—168. and Vol. XVI. p. 107—117.

An essential service would be rendered to biblical criticism by any man qualified for the task, who would undertake the compilation of a complete catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament, of which certain information is to be obtained". Scattered accounts may be seen in Simon Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T. ch. xiv. p. 169. in Walton's prolegomena, p. 91. § 17. and in Josephi Simonis Affemani *Bibliotheca Orient.* Tom. I. p. 561, 562. by which last writer we are informed, that two Syriac manuscripts of the four Gospels are preserved in the Vatican, one dated A. C. 548, the other 736. The *Bibliotheca Medicea*, published by Stephen Evodius Affeman, according to whose account the oldest Syriac manuscript of the four Gospels in that library was written in 586, and Blanchini *evangeliarium quadruplex versionis antiquæ latinæ*, P. I. p. 541. may be likewise consulted. But we must not conclude that

all the Syriac manuscripts are as ancient as is implied by their dates, for later copyists have often transcribed the date, as well as the text of the ancient manuscript, not through ignorance, or with a design to impose, but to denote the edition from which they copied. Those who make a profession of Syriac literature are not always attentive to this circumstance, yet the fact is undeniable; unless we suppose that in Syria, a country which has suffered from incessant inroads and devastations, more ancient and original manuscripts have been preserved than in any nation whatsoever.

In the publication of a new edition of the Syriac Testament, the Erpenian Arabic translation might be treated nearly as a manuscript in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, because those books, except in a few instances, were translated immediately from the old Syriac\*: and the same may be said of the Persian translation, as far as relates to the four Gospels. Various readings might be collected from the Syriac fathers, not only from Ephrem, whose works we have in Syriac, but also from the fragments of other writers, collected by Asseman. In short, with proper attention, an almost perfect edition might be formed, in comparison with those which have been hitherto given; the most ancient version of the New Testament merits all the pains that we are able to bestow, and no work would more eminently contribute to our advancement in biblical knowledge. The rules necessary to be observed in collating Ephrem Syrus, and in critical inquiries in general in regard to the Syriac version, have been given by Storr, in his *Observationes super versionibus N. T. Syriacis*, published at Studtgard in 1772, a most excellent treatise, and indispensable to every man who would criticise on the Syriac version. No one is more qualified to put these rules in practice than the learned writer himself; and I wish that he had proper encouragement and support in the execution of a task, which would render essential service in the criticism of the New Testament.

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\* See the Curæ in vers. Syr. Act. Apost. § 2—6.

The order in which the several books are placed, in the Syriac version, may be seen in a Syriac poem of Ebedjesu inserted by Asseman in the Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. p. 8<sup>12</sup>.

## S E C T. IV.

*The old Syriac version was made immediately from the Greek.*

THE learned Bengel, in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* p. 409, has ventured a conjecture, that possibly the Syriac version was not taken immediately or solely from the Greek, but that the translator made use also of the Latin version<sup>1</sup>. My father, in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T.* § 23. and in his *Remarks on Bengel's Tractatio de sinceritate N. T.* has produced very weighty arguments against this conjecture: and in order to remove all doubts, I carefully collated, a few years ago, the Syriac with the Latin version, the result of which was a confirmation of my father's arguments, as may be seen at large in the eighth section of the *Curæ*. But since Bengel has himself declared, in his *Concertatio de sinceritate N. T.* that his doubts respected not the genuine Peshito, but only our printed editions, whether they contained that ancient, or a later version, and as we are now in possession of the Philoxenian, every suspicion in regard to the former must vanish of itself.

A coincidence with the Latin in particular readings, affords no argument that the one was taken from the other, and proves only, as will be shewn in the following section, that both were made in a very early age, before the multiplication of copies had produced any considerable variety in the Greek manuscripts. Yet this coincidence is not so great as many have supposed, the readings being not seldom directly opposite, as I have

shewn in the eighth section of the Curæ; and in their modes of paraphrasing obscure passages of the Greek text, though the Syriac Testament has been my constant study, I have never found an instance that could justify the smallest suspicion; but, on the contrary, their methods are so perfectly dissimilar, as to make it impossible for the Syriac to have been taken from the Latin version. Besides, the conjecture is in itself improbable in the highest degree, it being hardly credible that in Syria, where Greek was the current language in all the principal cities, a translator of the New Testament would have recourse to a Latin translation rather than the Greek original; and we have reason to believe that the Syriac version was made at Edeffa, where the Latin language was perhaps unknown.

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## S E C T. V.

*In what respects the old Syriac version is related to the Latin, the Coptic, and the Greek manuscripts of the Western and Alexandrine editions.*

THE readings of the Syriac version coincide very frequently with the Latin, in cases where our printed editions of the Greek Testament, or the manuscripts of particular countries deviate from both, a circumstance which redounds rather to the honour of these versions, as they are the two oldest that exist; and the Syriac, notwithstanding the imperfections of the printed text, hath descended to the present age with fewer alterations than the Latin. By the Latin I understand at present not the translation, which is found in many of the Codices Græco-Latini, but the common version as corrected by Jerom, ratified by papal authority, and known under the name of the Vulgate. The coincidence is sometimes carried so far, that they agree in readings which are found in not a single manuscript, for instance,

Acts

Acts x. 3. ΕΙΔΕΝ ΕΝ ΟΡΑΜΑΤΙ, where both the Syriac and the Latin translator have rendered the passage as if the original were ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΙΔΕΝ, the former having *hu* *h*oi, the latter is vidit : but the old Latin version in the Codex Laudianus, though it agrees with the Syriac in most other cases, omits, in conjunction with several other manuscripts, *hu* in the first verse, and construes the passage in the following manner : *Ανὴρ τε τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ* . . . . . *εἶδεν*, vir autem quidam in Cæsarea . . . . . vidit.

But more frequent and more remarkable is the agreement of the Syriac version with those manuscripts, which were formerly called Codices Latinizantes, and the Latin version with which several of those manuscripts are accompanied. Of those, which I have enumerated in the eleventh section of the *Curæ*, I will select only the three following, as the most distinguished : the Codex Alexandrinus, in which the Acts of the Apostles are, as Griesbach says, according to the Western edition<sup>2</sup> ; the Codex Cantabrigienfis, which agrees with the Syriac version in the twenty-two first chapters of the Acts in seventy-seven readings, and in the ten first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel in twenty readings, that are found in no other manuscript : and the Codex Laudianus 3. Now an alteration of the Syriac from the Latin cannot possibly be supposed, for the ancient church of Rome, in the time of Pope Damasus, and in the period subsequent to Charlemagne, had no inclination to make the attempt ; the modern church of Rome would have altered not from the old Latin, but from the Vulgate ; in Syria, where Greek was understood, no man could have thought of correcting the Syriac Testament from a Latin translation, and those Syrians, who were unacquainted with Greek, were undoubtedly ignorant of Latin. A want of sufficient knowledge of the Philoxenian version, which at the time when I published the *Curæ* had never been printed, was the cause of a supposition which I there advanced, that certain readings of the Cambridge,  
or



or other similar manuscripts, might have been written either in the margin or in the text of the Philoxenian version, and from this version, which was held in high estimation, inserted gradually in the Peshito. But Mr. Ridley, in a letter dated Nov. 23, 1755, favoured me with a more accurate description of it, and since the work itself has been printed, all doubts are removed.

More probable is the supposition that the Syriac has had

Ad Marci evangelium quod attinet, in decem primis capitibus versionem Syriacam cum Cantabrigiensi viciis contra omnes codices concinere in lectionibus singularibus te observasse dicis: et præter has unius codocis Cant. lectiones plurima corruptionis ex Latina in Syriacam versionem serpentis vestigia detexisse. At has corruptiones ex Heracleensi irrepsisse suspicaris? Minime: e XX locis, quibus (ut dicis) simplex concinit cum Cantabrigiensi solo, Heracleensis concinit in duobus tantum, scil. V. 26. IX. 27.

En canones criticos, quorum ope has corruptiones, vel lectiones, latinizantes in simplicem ex Heracleensi densò agmine immigrasse te demonstrasse credis! 1. Ex Arabica versione nonnunquam vetus Syriaca lectio eruenda. 2. In quibuscumque locis gravis est suspicio, textum simplicis ad Heracleensem versionem reformari. 3. Quod ubi factum esse in uno exemplo intellexerimus, sæpius accidisse suspicari debemus.

His canonibus nifus experiar, quid ex adversa parte possim stabilire. Assumo igitur sententiam tuæ contrariam, nempe versionem simplicem, olim latinizantem, ope Heracleensis jam demum in plurimis ad Græcos reformari. In Marc. ii. 16. viii. 22. ix. 33. x. 21. Arabica concinit cum Vulgata latina; eadem igitur olim fuit lectio Syriaca: sed hodierna simplex in his locis cum Heracleensi consentit; unde gravis est suspicio in his locis hodiernam simplicem ex Heracleensi reformatam esse: Heracleensis vero in his locis cum Græcis conspirat; ergo hodierna simplex ope Heracleensis ad Græcos reformatæ. Et quod in uno exemplo factum intellexerimus, sæpius accidisse suspicari debemus.

Hæc non dixi, ut meam sententiam proferrem, sed argumentandi gratia. Nondum enim in hac controversia ex alterutra parte patronos audiui: non testes expendi: Wetstenii editionem N. T. non perlegi; non introductionem tuam ad tabulas N. T. vidi, non Bengelii, non patris tui tractationes potui comparare. In hac lite igitur minime iudicem ago, quippe minime ad eam dirimendam idoneus. Sed ubi te in alterutram trutinam propensioem videro, æqui amicus, fideliter admonendum censui.

had influence on the Latin, especially in those examples where an error is committed, that might happen more easily to the Syrian, than the Latin translator. The Latin text is properly a composition of several ancient Latin versions, one of which must have been made by a native Syrian<sup>3</sup>, as appears from the Syriacisms found in the Latin text of several ancient manuscripts, that greatly exceed in harshness the Syriacisms of the Greek Testament: this Syriac translator was probably guided, in obscure passages, by the version of his own country, the effects of which appear to be felt at this very day in the Vulgate. With regard to the probability of this conjecture, the reader may consult the *Curæ*, p. 169—173. examine and determine for himself: this at least is certain, that Charlemagne made use of the Syriac version, for the purpose of correcting the Vulgate<sup>4</sup>. But the foregoing hypothesis is very insufficient to account for that general coincidence observed between the old Syriac, the old Latin, and those ancient Greek manuscripts, which were undoubtedly written in the West, as appears from the Latin translations, with which they are accompanied.

This wonderful harmony between the two most ancient versions of the New Testament, one of which was spread throughout Europe and the north of Africa, the other propagated from Edeffa to China, could have had no other cause than a similarity of the Greek manuscripts in the west of Europe, and the east of Asia, which must have deviated in an equal degree from our printed text, and the manuscripts of what is called the Greek edition<sup>5</sup>. No immediate connection appears to have existed in those early ages between the Eastern, and the Western churches; the similarity therefore of the Greek manuscripts, from which the two most ancient versions were taken, can be ascribed to no other cause than their high antiquity, a similarity still preserved in the West, in those ages when the *Codices Græco-Latini* were written, as well as the later manuscripts belonging to the Western edition, enumerated in the eleventh section

of the Curæ. Whether the same evident, but ancient errors likewise may be discovered in the works of these two distant countries, I leave to the examination of future critics.

Less frequently, though not seldom, does the Syriac version agree with the Coptic, and with those ancient manuscripts that belong to the Alexandrine edition, sometimes when these differ from those of the Western edition. This similarity must also be ascribed to the high antiquity of those manuscripts, whereas the copies of the Greek edition are of a later date.

A reading therefore, supported by the united authority of the Syriac, the Coptic, and the Latin versions, by a quotation of Origen, and the ancient Greek manuscripts of the Alexandrine and Western editions, is not only of great importance, but may in general be regarded as genuine. How many, or how few readings of this kind may be produced, I am unable to ascertain, but the subject is of sufficient consequence to deserve a minute inquiry.

It appears from *Wetstein's Prolegomena*, p. 110. that Alexias Meneses, archbishop of Goa, ordered the Indian Christians, who use in general the Syriac version of the New Testament, to alter it according to the Vulgate, and that this command was executed with such precision, as to obtrude the grossest errors of the Latin on the Syriac text. If this account is true, the modern Syriac manuscripts of that country must latinize in a very high degree, and can be of no critical use to the learned in Europe; but it would be unjust to charge the church of Rome with an instance of folly, which is to be ascribed only to an individual bishop. The Lutheran missionaries in India have been able to collect the best intelligence on this subject, which I hope they will communicate to the public, though it is probable that I shall not outlive their return.

## S E C T. VI.

*Antiquity of the Syriac version.*

**T**HE learned are extremely divided in their opinions respecting the antiquity of the Syriac version; it being referred by some to the very earliest ages, while others have taken all possible pains to prove it to be modern. Now it appears from the evidence of Bar Hebræus, in his *Horreum mysteriorum*, that a more accurate translation of the Greek Testament was made into Syriac in the time of Xenayas, who died in 520, which presupposes the existence of a more ancient version. It will be shewn in a following section, that the Armenian version, which was taken from the Syriac, was written in the beginning of the fifth century: the Syriac version therefore must be still more ancient, and if that be true, which I have advanced in the preceding section, it must have been made in the first century\*. It is indeed hardly credible, as Christianity was so early propagated in Syria and Mesopotamia<sup>a</sup>, that the Christian communities in those countries, should have been destitute of a translation of the New Testament in their native language<sup>2</sup>: and Melito, who lived about the year 170, expressly declared, that a Syriac version of the Bible

\* It cannot be denied that Abgarus, who was king of Edessa from the 8<sup>th</sup> year after the birth of Christ to the year 45, was converted to Christianity, though the letters, which are said to have passed between him and Christ, are probably not genuine. See Bayer's *Historia Osroena*, p. 95,—125. This Abgarus, according to Gregorius Bar Hebræus, built a church at Edessa, and it is probable, from the Chronicle of Edessa, that this church was not built like those of the poorer primitive Christians of the West, but that it was erected in the form of a temple, and with a row of steps that led to the Holy Place. For it is related in the Chronicle, that in a flood, which happened at Edessa in the year 202, the water entered not only into the church, but rose as high as the Holy Place, which was elevated several steps above the other parts of the building. The custom of erecting churches in the form of temples seems to have been first introduced in Syria, and thence communicated to the Christian countries in Europe.

Bible at that time existed", for in his Commentary on the Septuagint, Gen. xxii. 13. he says, "The Syriac and the Hebrew have in this passage the word 'hanging,' in order to render it a more conspicuous type of the cross". Manes also, in his disputes with the Christians of the East, quoted the New Testament, yet he is known to have been ignorant of Greek, and could have read the New Testament only in the Syriac: the version therefore is prior to the age of Manes<sup>1</sup>. Lastly, it appears from the testimony of Jerom, that the Syriac Bible was in his time read publicly in the churches, for he says, Ephrem the Syrian is held in such veneration; that his writings are read in several churches immediately after the lessons from the Bible<sup>2</sup>.

I am not ignorant that the Oriental writers too often intermix in their histories truth and fable, but in cases where their evidence alone can be had, it is unjust to reject it merely because it may be false: and according to this evidence the Syriac version was made in the first century<sup>3</sup>. Gregorius Bar Hebræus, who is better known under the name of Abulpharagius, and whom we justly venerate as the best historian of Syria, writes, 'that the New Testament was translated in the days of the Apostle Addæus, (i. e. Thaddæus)'<sup>4</sup>. This account of Abulpharagius would be rendered still more probable, if it could be shewn that the translator was a native Jew; because the period in which the Jews were converted to Christianity was undoubtedly confined to the first century: and though I cannot presume to give positive evidence, yet I have discovered traces in the Syriac version, as will appear from the eighth section, which seem at least to justify the supposition.

The subscription of a Syriac manuscript of the four Gospels,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Millii Prolegomena, § 1239.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. ii. § 2. of this Introduction, and Beausobre Histoire du Manichéisme<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Waltoni Prolegomena, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> See Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, Tom. II. p. 279, and the Index to the 3<sup>d</sup> vol. art. Addæus.

Gospels, mentioned in the second volume of *Affeman*, p. 486. goes so far as to determine the name of the translator. The words are as follows, 'At Edeffa was a written Gospel, ancient but still legible. Not a single iota was erased, and it could more easily be read than many modern books, but by reason of its great age the ten first leaves had been lost. At the end was the following subscription :

' This sacred book was finished on Wednesday the eighteenth day of the first month Conun (December), in the year 389 (of the Greeks, i. e. in the year of Christ 78), by the hand of the Apostle Achæus, a fellow-labourer of Mar Maris, and a disciple of the Apostle Mar Adæus, whom we intreat to pray for us. Amen.'

But Ridley, in his dissertation *De Syriacis versionibus Novi Testamenti*, p. 20. has made many weighty objections; 1. If Achæus be the same person whose name is sometimes written Aghæus, who is described as the successor of Thaddæus, and predecessor of Mar Maris at Edeffa, it cannot possibly have been written in 78, because Achæus died in 48. 2. At least three of the Gospels, and the epistles were not written before his death. To these objections may be added, that even in the year 78, the several books of the New Testament could have hardly been collected into a volume, an event which undoubtedly took place before the Syriac version was made, as may be inferred from ch. vi. § 2. of this Introduction. The evidence therefore of this Syriac manuscript is of no authority.

A very convincing argument for the antiquity of the Peshito is its general reception among all the sects of the Syrian Christians, a circumstance which evidently proves it to have been in general use before the Syrian church was divided into parties<sup>e</sup>. Another argument in its favour is the omission of several books, which were afterwards received by the Syrians. The old translator must have made his version, if not before the book of Revelation was written, at least before it was acknowledged

ledged as canonical; and the epistle of St. Jude, which was also omitted in the Peshito, was acknowledged by the Syrians as a work of divine authority, so early as the fourth century, as appears from the quotations of Ephrem. But long before that period the epistle to the Hebrews had been admitted into the Syriac Testament, yet the translator lived in a later age than the author of the other books of the Peshito, as I have shewn above in the second section, and could confirm by still more convincing arguments. This is a very satisfactory proof of the high antiquity of this version'.

The manner, in which certain words and phrases are translated in the Syriac Testament, affords likewise a presumption in favour of its antiquity. We know that the distinction between bishops and elders was introduced into the Christian church in a very early age; yet this distinction was unknown to the Syriac translator. Συνηχοποις, Phil. i. 1. he translates 'with the elders,' and ἐπισκοπη, 1 Tim. iii. 1. 'the office of an elder.' The names also of places and persons, which had not been clearly expressed in the Greek, are written with more orthographical accuracy than could have been expected from a writer who had lived in a century, when the memory of those names was lost<sup>9</sup>: and were I not unwilling to detain the reader, I could illustrate this observation by the names Alphæus, Cleopas, Capernaum, Iscariotes, Kananites, and many others.

In the last place Ephrem, who lived about the year of Christ 370, quotes the New Testament according to the Syriac version now extant<sup>10</sup>. See his Syriac works, published at Rome<sup>11</sup>, Vol. I. 18. 37. 137. 189. 221. 313. 318. 331. 357. 395. where we find the following passages quoted from our literal Syriac version, John i. 3. xiii. 16. Col. iii. 5. Gal. i. 1. Matth. xxii. 40. Ephes. ii. 19. 1 Tim. vi. 6. 1 Pet. i. 11. Matth. iii. 17. Luke i. 78. Gal. iii. 13. It is true, that in some examples his quotations are somewhat different, where he quoted either from memory, or found in his copy a reading different from our own; but it is certain that he used the Peshito.

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The foregoing observation was first made by my father, in his remarks on Bengel's *Treatise de sinceritate N. T. tuenda*. Ridley, in his dissertation *de versionibus Syriacis N. T. sect. vii.* carried the inquiry still further; but the most complete and most accurate treatise on this subject is Storr's *Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis*. Ephrem, in his exposition of the Old Testament, refers constantly to the Syriac version; and as every Christian would begin his translation of the Bible with that part which is of the greatest importance, the version of the New Testament must have been made long before the time of Ephrem.

The inference to be deduced from the several arguments advanced in this section is, that the Syriac version was made either at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century <sup>u</sup>.

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## SECT. VII.

*Answer to several objections in regard to the antiquity of the Syriac version.*

HAVING examined the positive grounds of the antiquity of the Syriac version, I have now to refute the arguments which have been brought against it.

1. The Syriac translator has sometimes made use of Latin words, which were not current before the middle ages; for instance Matth. xxvii. 65. *κρυπταριον* is translated by ܟܪܝܦܬܐ, *questionarius*. See Grotius upon this passage, and Vossius *de translatione 70 interpretum*, c. 28.

Answer. This is a mere erratum in Widmanstad's edition, and should be written ܟܪܝܦܬܐ, *custonde*, which is St. Matthew's Greek word in a Syriac dress <sup>1</sup>. This answer was given by Simon in his *hist. crit. des Verf.* p. 164. but Ridley has actually found in his two manuscripts ܟܪܝܦܬܐ, which is St. Matthew's Greek word *κρυπταριον*, expressed letter for letter. See his dissertation *de verf. syr. N. T.* p. 21.



2. In the Syriac New Testament are used Greek words which were unknown to the ancient Greeks, for instance, ܡܝܨܡܐ, *simos*, a treasure, which is derived from the modern Greek word *ασημα*, *silver*<sup>a</sup>.

Answer. This is not a Greek but an Oriental word<sup>a</sup>, and is written in Arabic سَام.

3. The Syriac translator, Rom. i. 16. and in many other places, calls the Greeks ܡܕܝܢܐ or Romans, a name which was never given them before the time of Constantine the Great, when Byzantium became Roma Nova, and the territory about that city acquired the title of Romania.

Answer. This objection results from the grossest ignorance. The Greeks are always called ܡܕܝܢܐ in the Syriac Testament<sup>a</sup>, an instance of which is Rom. i. 14. and the Romans ܡܕܝܢܐ. The name in question, ܡܕܝܢܐ, was given to the Syrians<sup>a</sup>, and afterwards to the Heathens in general. Hence the Syriac translator uses this word when *ελληνες* is to be rendered Heathens. The only inference which can be drawn from the application of this title is, that the Syriac version was made in a country where Aramæans, not Greeks, could be considered in opposition to Jews, that it was made therefore not on this side of the Euphrates, where many Greeks resided, but in Mesopotamia, and probably in Edeffa, the Eastern metropolis of the Christian countries.

4. The Syriac version has the conclusion of the Lord's prayer, 'for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever.' Now as these words were not in St. Matthew before the time of Chrysostom, the translation in which they are found must have been made in a later period. This doubt is raised by Mill<sup>a</sup>, Prol. 1256, 1257.

Answer. It is not absolutely certain that the conclusion of the Lord's prayer is spurious.

But admitting it to be spurious, the Syriac version may be ancient, though the addition be modern, it having

<sup>a</sup>Du Fresne Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatatis, p. 138, 139.

ing met with the fate of other books, and suffered from the interpolation of transcribers. This observation was made by my father in his treatise de var. lect. N. T. § 70. 72. 77. and confirmed by several arguments.

5. Wetstein, in his proleg. p. 109. brings this further charge against the Syriac version, that, Acts xxi. 7. the city Ptolemais is called Acco, a name which it bears Judges i. 31. and concludes that this version is modern, being of opinion that Ptolemais resumed not the name of Acco till after the conquests of the Saracens.

Answer. This inference appears to me to be a paradox, for Wetstein denies not that the city in question was called Acco a thousand years before the time of Christ, and the Oriental names of cities were ever retained by the inhabitants, though Greek names are given them by the Greek writers. Those who have learned Oriental geography from the Arabic authors, must be satisfied of the truth of this assertion; and those who are unacquainted with Arabic, may refer to Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XIV. hist. not far from the beginning of the book, where it is expressly said that the Greek and Latin proper names were never current in the East. In the Coptic version even Alexandria is called not by the Greek name, but is constantly styled Racoti. See Jablonki Pantheon Ægypt. Lib. II. cap. v. p. 232. But if we suppose, with Wetstein, that the ancient Oriental name of Acco had been lost before the time of the Saracens, and the city known only by the name of Ptolemais, its original title would have been hardly recovered by a barbarous and unlettered nation.

6. Wetstein in the same paragraph charges the Syriac version with several false translations, which he quotes as instances of gross ignorance.

Answer. Admitting the charge to be true, it is no argument against the antiquity of the version, as the ancients were as liable to error as the moderns.

7. Wetstein further objects that in the Syriac version the quotations from the Old Testament are translated not from the Septuagint, as they stand the New Testament,

tament, but from the Hebrew; an alteration which would hardly have been made in the time of the Apostles.

Answer. If this assertion were founded in fact, it would still prove nothing to the disparagement of the Syriac version; for a translator in the time of the Apostles, as well as in a later age, might have used the Hebrew Bible, and supposed that the quotations from the Old Testament might with propriety be regulated according to the original. On the contrary, this argument proves rather the high antiquity of this version; for if the translator consulted the Hebrew Bible, he was probably a native Jew, and therefore of the first century, the Hebrew language being understood by hardly any of the later Christians, not excepting the most learned of the Syrian fathers. But the assertion of Wetstein is not agreeable to the truth, since the Syriac translator follows very frequently the Septuagint, though it may be observed in many places that he was not unacquainted with the Hebrew text. This subject appears to me to deserve a more accurate inquiry, and though I cannot enter into it at present, I will consider it in future more attentively.

8. According to Wetstein, Fabricius declared that the quotations from the New Testament, in the works of Ephrem the Syrian, were different from those in our Syriac version.

Answer. Fabricius was mistaken, as appears from the latter part of the preceding section. He is justly celebrated in the republic of letters, but he had not sufficient information of the works of Ephrem, with which we are much better acquainted at present than in the beginning of the century.

9. Wetstein objects that in the manuscripts of the Syriac version are found the Canons of Eusebius and his letter to Carpianus.

Answer. This is no more an argument against the antiquity of the Syriac version, than the modern division into chapters against the antiquity of the Septuagint version, and if valid, would equally prove the Greek

Testa-

Testament to have been written later than the age of Eusebius.

10. The late La Croze also, in his *Thef. Epist.* Tom. II. p. 282. denies the antiquity of our printed Syriac version. He supposes it to be the work of Xenayas, and is of opinion that the true **ܡܫܬܬܐ**, or ancient Syriac version, is to be sought amongst the Syrian Christians in Malabar\*. In support of this assertion, he alleges that Greg. Abulpharagius, p. 280, 281. cites Luke xii. 24. 'consider the Ravens,' in the Syriac as follows, **ܡܬܪܐ ܒܦܪܬܐ** (for thus it should be written, the words being so disguised in the printed edition of his letters as to be devoid of meaning) whereas in our printed Syriac Testament we read **ܐܬܝܬܐ ܒܢܥܒܐ**. I might ask, whence it appears that Abulpharagius quoted the old version, and not that of Xenayas, which would destroy at once the whole argument. But this is unnecessary, for Abulpharagius, like all the Fathers of the Church, has sometimes confounded the words of one Evangelist with those of another. Our printed Syriac version has the same words **ܡܬܪܐ ܒܦܪܬܐ**, Matth. vi. 26. which is parallel to the passage in St. Luke. As La Croze was one of the most learned men of this century, it were to be wished that he had communicated his other doubts concerning the antiquity of the Syriac version; for he tells us, *multa quæ idem adserunt observavi*. But perhaps they were not more considerable than that already refuted; for though his abilities were great, yet he candidly confesses that he had made no great progress in the Syriac. *Thef. la Croze*, Tom. III. p. 33. We should otherwise have been influenced by the bare opinion of so learned a man, though unsupported by arguments. I must not forget to mention that I could not find the quotation in Abulpharagius, and therefore imagine there must be an error in the number of the page to which La Croze has referred.

Several persons, though men of learning, have mistaken

\* In that country we should probably find the copies in a very corrupt state. See the latter part of sect. 5.

taken the ancient Peshito for the more modern version of Xenayas; Bengel, in his tractatio de sinceritate N. T. tuenda, was guilty of this error, in answer to which I referred my readers in the first edition of this work to the Biblioth. Orient. Tom. II. 24. published by Asselman, who was acquainted with both versions, and has pointed out their difference; and in the Relat. de libris novis, Fascic. III. p. 97, I extracted from Blanchini a part of the version of Xenayas, with a view of shewing how it differed from the ancient version. But since the later version, formerly in the possession of Ridley, which I shall describe in a following section, has been collated by Wetstein, and the extracts given among his various readings, we need only open our eyes to see the distinction<sup>s</sup>.

11. To the foregoing doubts which have been raised by others, I will add a difficulty which formerly gave me no small uneasiness. Several proper names, which could not have been unknown in the first century, are written in a very extraordinary manner, though the translator appears in other respects to have been a man of learning. For instance, 2 Cor. xi. 32. Aretas is written ~~moj~~, Aretos. Now was it possible that a prince, who had ruled in Damascus, could have been so soon forgotten in Syria? and why was the name written according to the Greek, and not according to the Syriac orthography?

Answer. It is true that the name of this prince in the Syriac language is  $\text{ܐܪܬܐ}$ . But both Syrians and Arabians have adopted sometimes a two-fold orthography, using in their own original works the Oriental names, and retaining the Greek terminations in translating from the Greek<sup>o</sup>. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. VII. p. 157, 158. or the Syriac Grammar, § 631<sup>7</sup>.

## S E C T. VIII.

*Of the author of the Syriac version, the place where it was written, its character, and use.*

IT cannot with any certainty, or even probability, be determined who was the author of the Syriac version; for though the Syrians ascribe it sometimes to the Evangelist St. Mark, at other times to Thaddæus, or as they call him Adæus, or his successor Achæus, yet their accounts are confirmed by no authorities, and Achæus, as well as his predecessor Adæus, died before the first publication of the Greek Testament, as was shewn in the sixth section. See Simon Hist. Crit. des vers. du N. T. p. 160. and Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. p. 212. If I am not mistaken, certain traces of an ancient superstition, with regard to the holiness of celibacy, are observable in this version, which cannot be attributed to the Apostles, namely, 1 Cor. vii. 2. 6, 7. for the second verse, 'let every man have his own wife,' is rendered, 'let every man keep his own wife,' as if St. Paul intended not to recommend an entrance into the marriage state, but only a continuance in it to those who were already married; v. 6. *κατα συγγνωμην*, is rendered, 'as weak,' and v. 7. is added the expression *ܠܨܠܘܬܐ*, 'in purity.'

It has been the common opinion in Europe, though it was never supposed in Asia<sup>4</sup>, that Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians, is the place where the Syriac version was made. But this opinion is not only unfounded on historical evidence, but is highly improbable in itself, and proceeds from an ignorance of that country; for Greek being the current language in all the cities to the west of the Euphrates, and especially at Antioch, no motive could have existed for making a translation of the Greek Testament in that city. Though no tradition were still extant that the Syriac version was written at Edessa, it would naturally occur as the most probable

probable place, it being a city where the Christian religion was planted in the first century, was adopted by its sovereigns, who erected churches with all the magnificence of heathen temples, was thence early and widely propagated in the eastern parts of Asia, and a city not only whose language was Syriac, but which during many ages was the eastern metropolis of the Christian world.

It is somewhat difficult to assign a reason for its being called ܡܕܢܚܐ: this at least is certain, that the name is not derived from the literalness of the version, as many have supposed, because the Syriac word is translated 'simplex,' for it is much less so than any other Syriac translation, and the over-literal Philoxenian version is rather entitled to this epithet. But I would translate ܡܕܢܚܐ, 'pure, uncorrupted, accurate,' and suppose that the Syrians gave it this title to express their confidence in its fidelity. The word itself is used more than once in the Syriac Testament: Matth. vi. 22. Luke xi. 34. Col. iii. 22. it is put for απλῆς, where 'simple' signifies 'honest;' Rom. xvi. 18. it is used for ακακος, and Heb. i: 8. for εὐδους.

The Peshito is the very best translation of the Greek Testament, that I have ever read; that of Luther, though in some respects inferior to his translation of the Old Testament, holding the second rank. Of all the Syriac authors, with which I am acquainted, not excepting Ephrem and Bar Hebræus, its language is the most elegant and pure, not loaded with foreign words, like the Philoxenian version, and other later writings, and discovers the hand of a master, in rendering those passages, where the two idioms deviate from each other. It has no marks of the stiffness of a translation, but is written with the ease and fluency of an original; and this excellence of style must be ascribed to its antiquity, and to its being written in a city that was the residence of Syrian kings. See Rom. ix. 20. xiii. 1. Heb. vii. 3. 8. Acts v. 37. xix. 39. xxii. 3. xxvii. 3. compared with the first section of the Curæ in Act. Apost. Syr. where I have pointed out the excellent manner in which the

the Syriac translator has rendered the Greek phrases, and in the third and sixth section of the *Curæ* other examples are quoted. It is true that the Syriac version, like all human productions, is not destitute of faults, and, what is not to be regarded as a blemish, differs frequently from the modern modes of explanation: but I know of none that is so free from error, and none that I consult with so much confidence, in cases of difficulty and doubt. I have never met with a single instance where the Greek is so interpreted, as to betray a weakness and ignorance in the translator; and though in many other translations the original is rendered in so extraordinary a manner as almost to excite a smile, the Syriac version must be ever read with profound veneration.

Several explanations that were necessary for a Greek reader are omitted in the Syriac version, as being useless to a native Syrian: for instance, those of *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*<sup>c</sup>, Matth. xxvii. 46. *Ephphatha*, Mark vii. 34. *Siloam*, John ix. 7. *Tabitha*, Acts ix. 36. *Talitha kumi*, Mark v. 41. *Corban*, Mark vii. 11. and *Messias*, John iv. 25. However, it is uncertain whether this omission is to be attributed to the ancient translator, or to subsequent transcribers. See the *Curæ*, p. 60. The affinity of the Syriac to the dialect of Palestine is so great, as to justify in some respects the assertion, that the Syriac translator has recorded the actions and speeches of Christ in the very language in which he spake. The dialect of Jerusalem was East-Aramæan, or, as we call it, Chaldee, and according to this dialect are written the Aramæan words that are found in the Greek Testament, for instance Acts i. 19. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. The Syriac New Testament is written in the same language, but in a different dialect. In Galilee, though West-Aramæan was spoken, that is the dialect of Syria on this side the Euphrates, and of Mesopotamia, yet it was extremely corrupted, as may be gathered from the writings of the *Sabii*<sup>c</sup>. The Syriac New Testament was certainly not written

<sup>c</sup> See Wettstein's Note to Matth. xxvi. 73. and Norberg de religione et lingua Sabæorum, published in the third volume of the Commentaries of the Academy of Sciences in Gottingen.



written in this corrupt dialect, but in the purest Mesopotamian : and it is probable that Christ, though educated at Nazareth, used not the dialect of that country, but that of Judæa, which was spoken by Joseph and Mary : at least *ταλιθα कुμι*, and other Aramæan expressions, are not Galilæan but pure Chaldee. The difference between the dialect which was spoken by Christ, and that of the Syriac translator, consisted almost wholly in the mode of pronouncing, and if a proper use had been made of this advantage, the Syriac version would be the most valuable commentary on the New Testament. Many obscure passages would be made clear, if the words were still on record which Jesus spake with his disciples in the Aramæan language, whether the dialect be called Syriac or Chaldee. But the translator appears not to have been fortunate in rendering passages of this nature, of which I will produce a single instance, Matth. xxviii. 1. *τη επιφωσκηση εις μιαν σαββατων*. If this had been translated *ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ*, every Syrian would have immediately understood it, and it would have naturally led to the explanation that I have given of it in the fifth section of the fourth chapter'. But it is translated *ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ*, where he has preserved only one half of the Aramæan idiom : and I have frequently observed that, where it is almost unavoidable to render a Syriasm of the original by the same turn of phrase in the version, the translator has retained it, but where it was less obvious, he was not so fortunate as to make the discovery. This circumstance alone affords sufficient evidence, that the Syriac version was not written by one of Christ's immediate disciples.

We discover sometimes in the Syriac version, a Paronomasia, which was a favourite figure of the Oriental writers : for instance Acts ii. 30. where *της σφουδας αυτης* is translated *ܕܝܠܕܝܢ*, in reference to the following *ܕܝܠܕܝܢ*, though the same Greek word, in other places, is rendered by *ܕܝܠܕܝܢ*. See also 1 Cor. ix. 13. *ܕܝܠܕܝܢ* and *ܕܝܠܕܝܢ*.

The mode adopted by the Syriac translator, with respect

spect to the quotations from the Old Testament, deserves a more accurate inquiry than I have had leisure to make. But I have observed, 1. that he discovers sometimes an acquaintance with the Hebrew text: 2. that the quotations, except in the epistle to the Hebrews, correspond not to the text of the Syriac Old Testament in such a manner, as to justify the supposition that they were taken from it.

In the *Curæ*, in *Act. Apost.* § vi. p. 73, 74. I have taken notice of certain traces in the Syriac version, which lead to the supposition of its having been made by a native Jew. To the reasons alleged in that treatise, which I submit to the determination of my readers, I will add, that the Syriac translator appears to have been so well acquainted with Palestine, that he must at least have visited that country, for he has frequently restored geographical names in the Greek Testament to their true Oriental orthography. Capernaum is written in the Syriac Testament ܥܦܪܢܗܡ, that is, the village of Nahum; Bethania, is written ܒܬܢܝܐ; Bethphage is written ܒܬܦܗܓܐ, which perfectly corresponds to its situation, for ܦܗܓ, in Arabic, signifies ‘a valley between two opposite mountains,’ an etymology which alone removes a contradiction which was supposed to exist between the New Testament and the Talmud<sup>a</sup>; and Bethesda, John v. 2. is written ܒܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, which is probably conformable to the derivation, whether we translate it ‘place of favour,’ or ‘place of the conflux of waters.’ The Syriac version therefore is the surest, and indeed the only guide, in discovering the etymology of geographical names, for the Arabic versions are too modern, and in other translations it was impossible

<sup>a</sup> The Talmudists describe Bethphage as being close to Jerusalem, the Evangelists as being fifteen stadia distant from it. This is no contradiction, because Bethphage signifies the valley between Jerusalem and the mount of Olives, as well as the town which lay on the other side of the mount<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> From ܦܗܓ, ‘favour.’

<sup>f</sup> From ܥܫܕ, ‘to flow together’<sup>11</sup>.

impossible to preserve the orthography of the East. But this praise of the Syriac version I will not carry so far as to suppose that the translator was never mistaken, nor contend that his explanation of the garden and house Gethsemane (ܓܝܬܝܫܡܢܐ or ܓܝܬܝܫܡܢܐܝ), Matth. xxvii. 36. viz. ܓܝܬܝܫܡܢܐ is to be preferred to another etymology, since an inhabitant of Edessa might be well acquainted with Judæa in general, without knowing the origin of the name of a summer-house in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Agreeably to the practice of the Syrians in translating from Greek authors, he has sometimes retained the Greek orthography, and for Ναῖν, has used ܢܝܢ though it was written in Hebrew נַעֲיִן. See the Syriac Grammar, § 63. He has often followed the same rule with respect to the names of persons, of which ܡܪܝܝܢ, 2 Cor. ii. 32. is an instance; and his etymology of Barabbas, Matth. xxvii. 16. ܒܪ ܐܒܒܐ, is different from the Hebrew, as Jerom relates in his remark on this passage, that he is called in the Hebrew Gospel, filius magiltri eorum, which would be ܒܪ ܡܓܠܬܪܝ: but if the Syriac translator was mistaken, it was no dishonour to be ignorant in regard to the name of a malefactor.

Simon, in his Hist. Crit. des Vers. ch. xv. has treated of the use of the Syriac version, and has taken from it some useful extracts. John Fr. Bernd has written a treatise, entitled Schediasma de primariis versionis Syriacæ virtutibus, Halæ 1732, but the author was at that time not possessed of the Oriental literature, which he has displayed in some later writings: Gutbier, in his preface to his Syriac Testament, has also made remarks on this subject, but they are made for the most part without judgement.

Beside the critical use of the Syriac version, which will be examined in the following section, it leads us sometimes to just and beautiful explanations, where other help is insufficient, for instance Matth. vi. 7. John xvi. 2. Rom. ix. 22. xiii. 3<sup>o</sup>. and confirms some ancient rites, in which we are deeply interested, such as the

<sup>o</sup> See the first section of the Cure.

the celebration of Sunday, 1 Cor. xi. 20<sup>12</sup>. And in discovering either the meaning of an unusual word, or the unusual meaning of a common word, where no assistance can be had from the Greek authors, the Syriac version may be of singular service, as the translator was probably acquainted with the language of common life, as well as with the language of books, and is at least of equal authority with a Greek lexicon of later ages.

Latin translations have been added to the Syriac version, in order to render its use more general, but as they are very erroneous<sup>13</sup>, they cannot be consulted with safety, without attending at the same time to the Syriac text.

## SECT. IX.

### *Critical use of the Syriac version.*

**T**HE chief advantage to be derived from the Syriac version is, in applying it to the purposes of criticism. Its high antiquity, and frequent deviation from the common reading, in passages of importance, must recommend the use of it to every critic, who in general will find himself rewarded for his trouble. Examples may be seen in Mill's Prolegomena, § 1246—1257, and still more in the seventh section of the Curæ, where I have constantly marked the rarity of the quoted reading. Those readings, which I have marked as rare, are of two kinds; either such as are found only in one, two, or three manuscripts, of which I have given, in the eleventh section of the Curæ, an alphabetical list, as far as regards the Acts of the Apostles; or such as have been hitherto found in no manuscript, whether this arises from their not existing in any manuscript, or from a negligent examination of them, a misfortune which has likewise been the fate of the Syriac version<sup>a</sup>.

The difference between the Syriac version, and the greatest part of the Greek manuscripts, is no ground for condemning

<sup>a</sup> Curæ, sect. 12.

condemning the former. It is natural to suppose, from its great antiquity, that it must deviate in many cases from the Greek manuscripts, the oldest of which were written above four hundred years later, and are mostly the produce of countries remote from Syria. They were probably taken neither from the same copy, nor from the same edition, and length of time must have rendered the difference still greater. But on the other hand, we must not suppose that every reading is genuine, where the Syriac version differs from the later manuscripts, because the ancient Greek copy, that was used by the Syriac translator, had undoubtedly its faults, the version itself has not descended unaltered<sup>1</sup> to the present age<sup>1</sup>, and our printed editions are extremely faulty. It is almost impossible therefore to give general rules on this subject, as it is often difficult to determine whether this difference must be ascribed to an error in the ancient Greek manuscript, from which the Syrian translated, to a corruption of the Syriac text, or a corruption of the Greek manuscripts that are now extant. This point being once determined, we should make a greater progress in the criticism of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>.

In using the Syriac version, we must never forget that our present editions are very imperfect, and not conclude, that every reading of the Syriac printed text was the reading of the Greek manuscripts of the first century. Mark xiii. 37. we find ܕܕܠܝܬ, but we cannot certainly infer from this expression, that the reading in the Greek manuscript, used by the Syriac translator, was α δε υμιν λεγω πασιν TMIN λεγω, since it is possible that the present Syriac word is an erratum for ܕܕܠܝܬ, the reading of the Philoxenian version. Here though we may conjecture that the old Greek manuscript had the above reading, yet as the erratum in the Syriac is so easy, we can make no certain conclusion till it be ratified by the authority of some Greek manuscript. The critic must perform what the editors have neglected, and above all things endeavour to render the Syriac text as correct

<sup>1</sup> Curæ, sect. 6.<sup>2</sup> Curæ, sect. 12.

correct as possible. For this purpose, if he has no Syriac manuscripts in his possession, he may have recourse to the Persian version in the Gospels, and to the Erpenian Arabic version, in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, as recommended in my father's treatise *De var. lect. Nov. Test. caute colligendis*, § 66. 72. 77. In the fifth and sixth sections of the *Curæ*, I have attempted to follow his example, but till we have more knowledge of the old Syriac manuscripts, we shall arrive at no certainty. In using the common editions of the Syriac Testament, those of Gutbier and Schaaf, the various readings printed at the end must always be examined, because they shew the difference between those and the more ancient editions, a caution which is the more necessary, as the later editors have had the imprudence to interpolate whole passages in the Syriac text, namely the beginning of John viii. Acts viii. 37. 1 John v. 7, &c.

The extracts, which critics have hitherto made from the Syriac version, are very incomplete, although it is universally known, and has been more used than any other, or perhaps than all other sources of critical assistance together. Mill, who was unacquainted with Syriac, was obliged to rely on the Latin translation, the consequence of which was a very great number of omissions and mistakes, of which the reader will find an account in the seventh section of the *Curæ*: I have never counted them, but the number is between three and six hundred. Wetstein has used it with more accuracy, yet I have counted in the Gospel of St. Mark alone three hundred and sixty various readings in the Syriac Testament, that Wetstein has either omitted, or quoted erroneously. In the Acts of the Apostles, if the remarks of Mill be used at the same time with those in the *Curæ*, (for I have not extracted a second time what others had done before) the reader will have a tolerably complete collection from that book of the Syriac Testament, though it was impossible to avoid making some omissions, which I have since discovered. J. W. Reusch, a clergyman in Wolfersstadt, published at Leipzig in 1742, *Syrus interpres*

terpres cum fonte N. T. Græci collatus, the most complete treatise on this subject: it may be used by those who would criticise on the New Testament, without a knowledge of Syriac, and Wetstein would have made fewer mistakes, if he had paid a proper attention to this work. Yet, in collating the Gospel of St. Mark, I have found in it many omissions, and the reader may himself compare it with the sixth and seventh sections of the above-mentioned Curæ.

The preceding observations were made in the second edition of this Introduction; since that time a publication has appeared, in which the errors of Mill and Bengel are more fully displayed, and in some measure corrected, not only in regard to the Syriac, but other Oriental versions. This publication is from Professor Bode, dated 1767, with the following rather unfriendly title, *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana, sive tractatus criticus, quo versionum sacrarum orientalium, Syriacæ, Arabicarum, Polyglottæ, Erpenianæ, et Romanæ, Persicarum, Polyglottæ et Whelocianæ, Æthiopicæ et Armenicæ allegationes pro variis N. T. Græci lectionibus a Jo. Millio et Jo. Alb. Bengelio frustra factæ plene recensentur, refutantur, et eliminantur, insertis earundem versionum veris allegationibus.* If the object of this work, as might be concluded from the last words of the title, were not only to correct the errors of Mill and Bengel, but also to deliver complete extracts from these versions, a very considerable part has been neglected, as will appear from the examples which I have taken from only two chapters of the Syriac version, and which I will subjoin at the end of this section. On the other hand, it is possible that the author's intention was merely to amend the faults of his predecessors<sup>2</sup>, and it is even probable, as he has taken no notice of those instances which Reusch had quoted correctly. But in this case, though we are highly indebted to the learned and industrious professor, yet in our critical researches into the various readings of the New Testament, his extracts will be insufficient, and we must always have recourse to the version itself.

The following are the above-mentioned omissions, taken from the two first chapters of St. Mark, being readings of the Syriac that are found neither in Mill, Bengel, nor Wetstein.

Mark i. 6. *Ἦν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος*—The reading of the Syr. vers. is *αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐνδυμα*, which is compounded of the reading in this verse, and that of Matth. iii. 4. It is probably false, yet worthy of notice.

καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας]—καὶ ἡ τροφή αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες, from Matth. iii. 4. These two examples shew, that the charge which is laid by Jerom to the Latin versions, that the text of one Evangelist had been altered from that of another, is due likewise to the Syriac version. Tatian's Syriac work, entitled Diatessaron, and described in Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. I. p. 12, 13. might have given rise to these alterations. See the latter part of the seventh section of this chapter.

Ver. 21. ΕΥΘΕΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΩΝ, ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΝ  
 ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕ]—The Syr. ver. not only omits ΕΙΣΕΛΘΩΝ, (as  
 Wetstein has already noticed) in conjunction with the  
 Codex Ephrem and Cod. Stephani η, but has ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ  
 ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

Ver. 23. ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ]—The Syr. verſ. expreſſes ‘in whom was an impure ſpirit:’ this is probably not a mere paraphraſe, but the reading of Luke iv. 33. ἐχὼν πνεῦμα, which the tranſlator has rendered in a ſimilar manner<sup>1</sup>. Here again is an inſtance to which the obſervation may be applied, that was made on the two firſt examples<sup>3</sup>. This reading is the more remarkable, becauſe the old Latin verſions in the Cod. Brixiensis and Cod. Veronenſis, publiſhed by Blanchini, coincide with it, having qui habebat ſpiritum, &c<sup>4</sup>.

Ver. 27. *τις η διδαχη*].—The Syr. and Perf. versions have *και τις η διδαχη*.

Ver. 31. *ἡγείρεν αὐτὴν κρατῆσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς*]—The Syr. *verf.* inverts the order of these words, namely *κρατῆσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς ἡγείρεν αὐτὴν*. This inversion I should not

<sup>1</sup> In St. Mark, (၇၂) မှတ်တော်၊ ၁၁။ In St. Luke, (၁၁) မှတ်တော်၊ ၁၁။



not have noticed, were it not found in some ancient Latin versions, and the Codex Cantabrigienfis, which has a great affinity to the Syriac version: but the Cod. Cant. has an addition in this place not found in the Syriac<sup>5</sup>.

Ver. 35. ἐξῆλθεν is omitted in the Syr. vers. (as observed by Reusch) and also in the Latin version in the Cod. Veronenfis<sup>6</sup>.

Ver. 39. ἐν ταῖς συνάγωγαῖς αὐτῶν]—ἐν πάσαις ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν.

εἰς ὅλην]—καὶ εἰς ὅλην.

Ver. 40. παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ γονυπετῶν αὐτοὺς]—inverted, γονυπετῶν αὐτοὺς, καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς.

Ver. 44. τῷ ἱερεῖ]—Mill observes, that in the Syriac the plural is used, as if the Greek were ἱερεῖς: he should also have observed, that the use of the plural cannot be immediately ascribed to the translator, but to the person who added the vowels, for ἱερω, without points, may express the singular as well as the plural<sup>7</sup>. Bode has here remarked, that the Syriac translator has explained ἱερεῖ from Luke xvii. 14. a passage which relates to a totally different subject.

Ver. 45. μὴ κεῖται αὐτοῦ]—μὴ κεῖται τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Mark ii. 1. καὶ ἠκροῦσθ ὅτι]—καὶ ὅτε ἠκροῦσθ ὅτι. This reading is remarkable, 1. because the Cod. Vercellensis in the Latin expresses likewise ὅτε, but in the beginning of the verse, καὶ ὅτε πάλιν<sup>8</sup>: 2. because ὅτε and ὅτι producing a disagreeable effect so near each other, the one might be easily omitted, or transposed by the copyists.

Ver. 3. ὑπὸ τεσσάρων]—ἐν μέσῳ τεσσάρων, which is likewise the reading of the Latin version in the Cod. Brixianus<sup>9</sup>.

Ver. 16. τί ὅτι]—διὰ τί, as in the Latin version in the Cod. Vercell. Veron. and Brixianus. This reading is the more remarkable, because Stephanus quotes it from his Codex β, which is supposed to be the same with the Codex Cantabrigienfis. It has not been quoted from the Cod. Cant.<sup>10</sup>: but whether we suppose the Codex β to be actually the same with the Cod. Cant., or so nearly related to it, that they might be considered as

equal, the agreement of the Syriac version with a manuscript, to which it has so general an affinity is not unworthy of notice.

## S E C T. X.

*Of the more modern Syriac versions.*

THE translation of the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John, is undoubtedly modern, and not made by the same person who translated into Syriac the rest of the New Testament. Several words, that are properly rendered by the ancient translator, were misunderstood by the other; for instance *αιδιος*, Jude 6. he renders falsely 'invisible'; whereas the old translator, Rom. i. 20. has rightly translated it 'eternal<sup>m</sup>.' I pass over at present the great diversity in the style of these versions, because it would be difficult to explain it to those who are ignorant of Syriac, and those who are acquainted with the language will easily perceive it themselves\*. The above-mentioned books of the New Testament are found in no manuscripts of the Syrian Peshito; neither Nestorians nor Jacobites read in their churches the Revelation of St. John, and Ebedjesu distinguished the three epistles of James, Peter, and John, from the four excepted, by adding the following clause, 'the three epistles, that are ascribed to the Apostles James, Peter, and John, in all manuscripts and languages, and are called catholic.' See Simon, p. 171. and Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. p. 9, 10, 15. That the translation was made immediately from the Greek appears, among other marks, from this, that the use of the Greek article is retained in the Syriac where it is wholly superfluous<sup>n</sup>. The translator of the book  
of

<sup>m</sup> On the other hand, it is probable that *αιδιος*, in Jewish-Greek, signified likewise 'invisible.' See the Wisdom of Solomon xi. 23. vii. 26.

<sup>n</sup> See my father's Note on Bengel's Tract. de sinceritate N. T. tuenda, § 6. b.

of Revelation has preserved even the termination of the Greek cases, writing ch. xv. 7. ⲕⲉⲗⲁⲥ for φιαλας, and xvi. 2. ⲕⲉⲗⲁⲥ for φιαλην. But he has often betrayed the grossest ignorance, having translated, for example, ch. viii. 13. ⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲱⲣⲁⲛⲏⲙⲁⲧⲓ, 'through the midst of the bloody tail', instead of 'through the midst of heaven:' and this ignorance of the translator makes it often difficult to determine what was the reading of the Greek manuscript, from which he took his version, a circumstance the more distressing in the Revelation, because the Syriac differs considerably in this book from our common text, and very few Greek manuscripts of the Revelation are now extant. For instance, Rev. ii. 13. the common reading is Ἀντίπας, but the Syriac expresses ⲁⲛⲧⲉⲓⲡⲁⲥ.

It is difficult to determine who was the author of this version, and we shall probably come to no decision, till we have an edition of the whole Philoxenian version. In the manuscript, from which Lud. de Dieu published the Syriac Revelation, was the following subscription, ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲱⲣⲁⲛⲏⲙⲁⲧⲓ. In the last word is an evident erratum of Rish for Dolath, which very frequently occurs in Syriac: the word ought to be written ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲁⲥ, and the meaning of the subscription is, 'pray for him, who wrote this, Caspar from the land of the Indians.' But he was only the transcriber who wrote this particular copy, not the author of the version. La Croze<sup>a</sup>, who first discovered the above erratum<sup>a</sup>, says that a Syriac liturgy, likewise copied by one Caspar of India, is preserved in a library at Halle, I suppose in that of the Orphan House<sup>b</sup>, which was probably brought from Tranquebar.

It appears then that the MS. of the Revelation, which belonged to Scaliger, and which de Dieu printed, was brought from the peninsula of India, on this side the Ganges. With respect to the author of the version, Affeman, Tom. III. P. II. p. 237. of his *Bibl. Or.* supposes him to have been Maraba (ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ), of whom he gives

<sup>a</sup> *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, Liv. III. p. 230.

gives a description, Tom. II. p. 411. and Tom. III. P. I. p. 75—81. This Maraba, which is the same as Mr. Abba, was Mafrejan, or Primate of the East, between the years 535 and 552, and translated the Old Testament from the Greek, though a translation had been already made. That he was the author of the Syriac version of the Revelation is in itself not improbable, for he was by birth a Persian, educated in the religion of Zoroaster, without any instruction either in Greek or Syriac; but, after he was converted to Christianity, he learnt Syriac at Nisibis, and Greek at Edeffa, from a Jacobite Christian of the name of Thomas, whom he afterwards accompanied to Alexandria, and there applied himself to making translations. A man of this description might easily have committed the mistakes that are found in the Syriac Revelation, and therefore the opinion of Asselman is not absolutely to be rejected<sup>6</sup>.

Ridley<sup>o</sup>, on the other hand, is of opinion that those books of the New Testament, which are the subject of this section, are a real part of the Philoxenian version<sup>p</sup>, and it cannot be denied that there is a striking uniformity in the mode of translating. In support of his opinion he appeals, 1. to the character of the version itself; 2. to the subscription of a copy of the Syriac Revelation preserved at Florence, in which the transcriber says that he took this copy in 1582 at Rome, from an ancient manuscript, which Thomas of Heraclea had written with his own hand<sup>7</sup>. It is true that we cannot always depend on such subscriptions, and our doubts are augmented by the circumstance that *αιδιος*, Rom. i. 20. as Ridley himself allows, is rendered in the Philoxenian version by ܐܠܗܝܡ ܥܕܝܐ, 'eternal,' whereas, Jude 6. it is translated ܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ, 'unknown,' or 'invisible.' Admitting the translation to be justifiable, yet the sense given to *αιδιος*, Rom. i. 20. would have been full as suitable in the other passage, and the difference seems to imply a different translator; but I will not be positive, since it is possible that

a trans-

<sup>6</sup> De verf. Syr. p. 39, 40.

<sup>p</sup> This will be described in the following section.

a translator may without any reason vary in his explanation of a word. With respect to the extraordinary translation of *ἐν μεσσηνίᾳ*, Rev. viii. 13, Storr observes that the same etymological mistakes are found in the Philoxenian version, for instance Matth. xxiii. 25. *παροψίς*, 'a dish,' is rendered *ܐܦܫܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ*, as if it were derived from *ܐܦܫܐ*, 'visus,' and the same *μεσσηνίᾳ*, in other parts of the Revelation is more properly translated, namely, ch. xiv. 6. by *ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ*, 'through the heaven,' and ch. xix. 17. by *ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ*, 'in the midst of the heaven.' In the 49<sup>th</sup> section of his *Observationes super versionibus N. T. Syriacis*, he subscribes therefore, as far as regards the Revelation, to the opinion of Ridley; and there is so great a similarity between that book and the Philoxenian version<sup>1</sup>, that I can see no objection<sup>2</sup>. With respect to the four catholic epistles, Storr is of a different opinion, § 48. The mode of translation in these epistles appears to him to be totally different from that in the Philoxenian version; for instance *εὐσεβεία* is rendered in the latter with too great attention to etymology by *ܐܕܡܐ ܕܥܒܪܐܝܬܐ*, 'beauty of fear,' whereas 2 Pet. i. 6. it is translated more properly *ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܪܐܝܬܐ*, 'the fear of God.' He quotes several other examples of this kind, and concludes that our printed Syriac version of these epistles never made a part of the Philoxenian; but he refers to the latter certain fragments quoted by Pococke from Dionysius.

We shall never be able to decide this question with certainty, till we have an edition of the whole Philoxenian version<sup>3</sup>: at present we must be contented to rely  
on

<sup>1</sup> An argument against this opinion might be drawn from Ridley's own words, p. 25. where, speaking of Ephraem, he says, in *Apocalypsi, si dialectum in vocabulorum forma excipias, nunc concinit cum versione Heracleensi Ephraemo duobis seculis recentiori*. Now the version, with which the quotations of Ephraem, who lived in the fourth century, so remarkably coincide, cannot possibly be the Philoxenian or Heracleensian. But this coincidence has been supported by no example: I conclude therefore that Ridley's observation is grounded on an error, and that he mistook the quotations of Jacob of Edessa, which he found in the works of Ephraem, for those of Ephraem himself.

on the accounts of others, and should therefore deliver our opinions with modesty and caution. But before I conclude this section, the reader will permit me to venture a conjecture with respect to the book of Revelation.

It is the opinion of Storr, (and I can see no ground for rejecting it) that there existed another version of the four catholic epistles, beside the Philoxenian<sup>10</sup>, and it was probably made in a very early age; for Ephraem has quoted these epistles (as Hassencamp has shewn in his Remarks<sup>11</sup>), though they never had a place in the Peshito. It is difficult to conceive that Ephraem, who wrote in Syriac, though a part of his works remain only in the Greek translation, would have quoted books of the New Testament with this clause, 'for the Scripture says,' if those books made a part of no Syriac version<sup>12</sup>. They must have existed then in Syriac so early as the fourth century.

It may be asked if there was not also a more ancient translation of the Revelation of St. John, than the Philoxenian<sup>13</sup>? It appears even that Ephraem has quoted it more than once in his sermons, which he composed in verse (ܡܕܢܚܐ) <sup>14</sup>, as Hassencamp has likewise shewn in his remarks<sup>15</sup>. Another circumstance which corroborates the opinion, that there existed two or even more translations of this book, is that the above-mentioned *ܡܕܢܚܐ* is translated properly in the latter half of the book, in the former half improperly. This is a fault, which could hardly have been committed by the same translator in one and the same book; for in translating the fourteenth he could not have forgotten the eighth chapter, and would either have translated it as before, or, if in the mean time he was become better acquainted with the Greek expression, he would have corrected his error in the eighth chapter. It is reasonable therefore to conclude that there were two or more translations, and that one was interpolated from the other; and, if I am not

<sup>10</sup> *ܐܦܪܝܡ ܡܕܢܚܐ*. Tom. I. p. 76. of the Greek edition of Ephraem. He there quotes from the third epistle of St. John.



שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה
שׁוּמַם לֹא יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה	פֶּסַח יִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ יְהוָה

in the Greek : but Jacob has the feminine, as it must agree with *ἡ ὀνομα* is literally translated by *שׁוּמַם*, 'nomen,' whereas the quotation of Jacob has *שׁוּמַם*, 'verbum.'

\* Here is a trifling difference, which may be considered either as a various reading, or the result of a free quotation.

<sup>†</sup> That *שׁוּמַם* is here not followed by *לֹא*, as in the quotation of Jacob, is to be ascribed to the precision of the translator, who was resolved to express *κατα* as closely as possible. This appears to be Philoxenian, but in the quotation of Jacob the language is more fluent.

<sup>‡</sup> *שׁוּמַם* is used in order to express *αὐτός* with more emphasis, but *שׁוּמַם*, which is used in Jacob's quotation, discovers a translator who was less attentive to such emphasis.

<sup>§</sup> It seems that the translator by *שׁוּמַם* intended to denote the composition of *αναβαθμῆς*, a nicety to which no attention is paid in Jacob's text.

<sup>||</sup> Here the two texts differ more materially from each other, and express a totally different reading. Jacob expresses the common reading *αὐτῆς αὐτῆς*, the edition of de Dieu *αὐτῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γῆς*, where it may be observed that *τῆς γῆς* is found in nine MSS. quoted by Wetstein, to which may be added the Wolfenbottle MS. Since therefore, among the many varieties, which are observable in so short a passage, there is one which makes an alteration in the sense, it is reasonable to suppose that the two texts are different translations.

<sup>κ</sup> This phrase, which signifies *inter oculos*<sup>19</sup>, is used to express *μετα* with more precision, whereas the quotation of Jacob has the more usual word *בְּ*. Also *αὐτός* is expressed in the former by *שׁוּמַם* but not in the latter.

<sup>λ</sup> *שׁוּמַם* is used twice to express the Greek article. This is again Philoxenian precision ; but the quotation of Jacob is free from this useless accuracy.

<sup>μ</sup> Here the two texts again express a totally different reading. The edition



4001 101: 12111 " 01110 .6 110: 100 11110: 10: 10 .1111: 101111:	10 " 101: 12111 11110 .6 101111: 10: 100 1111: 10: .1111:
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This appears to be something more than a free quotation, as it is termed by Storr, since in so short a passage the two translations express twice a different reading of the Greek text <sup>20</sup>. It appears at the same time that the later literal translator has made the ancient and less literal translation the basis of his own, and retained many of its expressions. Hence their coincidence in the phrase 1011 1011 <sup>21</sup>.

## S E C T. XI.

### *Of the Philoxenian version.*

**I**NOW proceed to the New Syriac, or, as it is styled, the Philoxenian version, a name which it derives from Philoxenus, otherwise called Xenayas, Bishop of Hierapolis, or Mabug, from the year 488 to 518, an account of whose life and writings may be seen in *Assemani Bibl. Or. Tom. II. p. 10—46*. But Philoxenus was only patron of the work, and not the translator<sup>2</sup>, the task being executed by Polycarp, his Rural Bishop<sup>1</sup>, in the year 508.

All that was known of this version, before the middle of

edition of de Dieu has τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν βδελουχημάτων τῆς γῆς, which is the common reading; but the quotation of Jacob, instead of ποιητῶν, expresses ποιητῶν, for which Wetstein quotes the Vulgate and Aretas. The order of the words is likewise inverted, and that which is denoted by 1011 in the one, is expressed by 12111 in the other. Hence it follows that they are distinct translations.

<sup>2</sup> 01110 is the common pleonasm of the suffix; but this is omitted in the version published by de Dieu, because it is not in the Greek.

<sup>1</sup> The omission of 4001 is again to be ascribed to the Philoxenian precision, because in the Greek the participle of the present tense is used.

<sup>2</sup> *Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, Tom. II. p. 83.*

of the present century, was that it existed, and the conjectures that were formed of it were confused and contradictory. La Croze and Baumgarten, critics of the highest rank, suspected that the common Syriac text, first published by Widmanstad, was not the Peshito, but the Philoxenian version; and when I ventured in the first edition of this work to differ from their opinion, I was not in possession of those proofs, which I had at the publication of the second and third. Yet even at that time accounts had been given of it by Renaudot and Asséman, in his *Bibl. Orientalis*, a work to which too little attention had been given. Wettstein's edition of the New Testament presented to the public a more circumstantial account of it, Wettstein having taken a journey to England, in order to collate the very excellent copy of this version brought from Amida, and in the possession of Mr. Gloucester Ridley, minister of Poplar; but as he could use it only fourteen days, his extracts were imperfect, and mistakes were unavoidable. He communicated in his *Prolegomena*, p. 112, 113. a particular description of this version, and of Ridley's copy, which is enriched with various readings taken from Greek manuscripts, on both of which he added observations that contain valuable information, though they appear to have been written in too much haste. I made use of Wettstein's remarks in the *Curæ in Actus Apost. Syriacos*, and ventured several conjectures with respect to certain Latinizing readings, which I supposed had crept into the Peshito from the margin of the Philoxenian version, but which a better acquaintance with this version has shewn to be ungrounded. Mr. Ridley gave me a polite invitation to visit him in England, and make use of his manuscript in person, expressing at the same time a desire that I would direct the publication of at least a part of the work, as an ill state of health prevented him from undertaking the task himself. This request, which gave offence to some of his countrymen, I was unable to fulfil, being detained in Germany by academical engagements; but at my request he published, in  
1761,

1761, a very excellent and important essay, entitled *Dissertatio de Syriacarum Novi Fœderis versionum indole atque usu: Philoxenianam cum Simplici e duobus pervetustis Codd. MSS. ab Amida transmissis conferente Glocestrio Ridley*. In the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> sections he describes the version itself, in the 12<sup>th</sup> the copies of it found in other libraries in Europe, in the 13<sup>th</sup> the two copies in his own possession (for beside the very remarkable and well known copy, he has likewise a second<sup>2</sup>), in the 15<sup>th</sup> corrects the mistakes that Wetstein had made, and in the 16<sup>th</sup> those which I had made, and at the conclusion he has given a copper plate, with a fac-simile. From that time this essay became the most important book on the Philoxenian version, and more information could no one contribute, who had not an opportunity of examining the version itself. Storr had the good fortune to meet with this opportunity in his travels; especially at Paris, and in consequence of his discoveries, he published, in 1772, *Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis*; a treatise which contained much valuable information, and brought us several degrees forward in our knowledge of the Philoxenian version. These writings I have mentioned in the order as they appeared, partly because they were the only sources of information, when I published the three first editions of this work; partly because they furnish a kind of literary history of the progress, which we have made in our knowledge of this version; and of the mistakes, which we had committed, for want of proper intelligence. But at present we are advanced at least an hundred degrees; we can now see with our own eyes, without trusting to the relations of others, since Professor White has printed from Ridley's manuscript in 1778 the first volume, containing the four Gospels, under the following title: *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ex Codd. MSS. Ridleyanis in bibl. coll. Novi Oxoniensis repositis, nunc primum edita cum interpretatione et annotationibus Josephi White, A. M. coll. Wadh. socii et linguæ Arabicæ professoris Laudiani. Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1778*. This edition

edition I have reviewed in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. No. 254. and have given a circumstantial account of the version itself: I shall mention here therefore only the result of those inquiries, and refer my readers to the review for proofs and examples<sup>3</sup>. Adler found at Rome several other manuscripts, which differed in some places from that of Ridley: of these a description may be seen in the Orient. Bibl<sup>4</sup>. Vol. XVII. No. 266. Vol. XVIII. No. 277.

The history of the version itself, which is still attended with some obscurity, may be best gathered from the subscriptions at the end of the copies. In the preceding edition I quoted only the translations which had been given of them by Wettstein, Affeman, and Storr, because only one copy had been published of the Syriac original, which differed in many places from the translations<sup>5</sup>. At present I will add, from the Oxford edition, the subscription to the four Gospels in Ridley's manuscript, to which I will subjoin a translation, and notes on several readings that appear to deserve attention. The Syriac text, which is taken from the subscription to a Roman manuscript, in the Bibliotheca Angelica S. Augustini de Urbe, printed in Affemani Bibl. Orient. Vol. II. p. 93. differs in some respects from Ridley's manuscript. It must be likewise remarked, that beside the following subscription, White has printed three others<sup>6</sup>, taken from Roman manuscripts, and communicated by Stephen Evodius Affemani<sup>6</sup>. These, for the sake of brevity, I will call White's Roman. 1. 2. 3.

(2) **Ḥabib** : حبیب  
**Ḥabib** : حبیب  
**Ḥabib** : حبیب

Est autem liber hic quatuor evangelistarum sanctorum, qui conversus fuit

P. 641--650.

[illegible]



ⲓⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ (ⲉ)	Iterum scriptus et collatus
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ	est in loco dicto anno
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ	noningentesimo vicefimo
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ	septimo ejusdem Alexandri,
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ	Indictione quartâ. Quan-
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ	tam autem molestiam et
ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ	solicitudinem in eo et so-

is found in Storr's Paris MS., with exception perhaps to the word ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ<sup>10</sup>. But Asselman and Storr have given a different translation: the former renders the passage, ubi et ipsum mihi exaravi pro peccatricis animæ meæ utilitate, et pro multorum beneficio, qui diligunt quæruntque utilem exactamque divinarum scripturarum integritatem nosse et custodire. He considers therefore ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ as a verb, but Storr translates it as a substantive, by apex ejus, and renders the passage quippe vel apex ejus facit ad utilitatem animæ meæ ægrotæ, omniumque eorum qui cupiunt integritatem librorum sacrorum cognoscere et conservare. But I would rather abide by the explanation of Asselman.

(ε) The word ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲩⲱⲙ, iterum, on which the history of this version greatly depends, is found not only in Ridley's MS., but in White's first Roman, and apparently<sup>11</sup> in the second; also in Storr's Paris MS., for he translates iterum vero descriptus est, et collatus eodem loco dicto. But it is omitted in Asselman's Codex Angelicus, and White's third Roman MS.

It is to be observed, that in the last-mentioned manuscript, the latter part of the subscription is totally different, being as follows, according to the translation of Asselman<sup>12</sup>, deinde vero summo studio collatus fuit a me paupere et peccatore ad tria exemplaria valde accurata et probata, in sancto monasterio Sancti Domitii, ubi et ipsum exaravi ad usum archipresbyteri Davidis pro animæ ipsius et multorum utilitate, qui amant et qui cupiunt scire confirmationem utilem divinatorum librorum. Scriptus autem fuit atque collatus in eodem prædicto loco anno millesimo septingentesimo nonagesimo nono (Christi 1488). Quantum autem laboris, &c. The writer then of this particular copy, who calls himself Barsuma, had the absurdity to add, in the fifteenth century, to the words used by the anonymous transcriber of the year 616, and which apply to Thomas, namely, deinde vero summo studio collatus est, &c. the following, in sancto monasterio sancti Domitii, &c. which relate to the transcriber of the fifteenth century alone. This part therefore deserves no attention in the present inquiry.

(δ) In eo et fociis ejus, must signify either in the four Gospels, and the remaining books of the New Testament, or, in this and other copies, which last interpretation seems to be the best. Taken in this sense,

ܠܥܝܫܝܫ ܗܒܘܝܪܝܡ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ  
 ܠܥܝܫܝܫ ܗܒܘܝܪܝܡ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ  
 ܠܥܝܫܝܫ ܗܒܘܝܪܝܡ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ  
 ܠܥܝܫܝܫ ܗܒܘܝܪܝܡ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ

ciisejushabuerim, dominus  
 solus novit, qui retribuet  
 unicuique secundum opera  
 sua in iudicio suo iusto et  
 recto, in quo digni efficiamur  
 misericordia ab eo.

The history of this version then appears to be the following, 1. Polycarp Rural Bishop of Mabug, at the request, and under the patronage of Philoxenus, undertook, in the year 508, a new translation of the Greek Testament. Ridley is of opinion, that the great variety and corruption of the copies of the Peshito was the motive which induced Philoxenus to promote a new translation: but as we have no ground for this supposition, it is more natural to conclude, that the chief inducement was the desire of having a translation more literal than the Peshito. Not only motives of piety might excite a wish to have a Syriac Testament, that more precisely resembled the original, but likewise the religious disputes, that were at that time very warmly conducted between the Nestorians and Monophysites; and as Philoxenus zealously espoused the latter, he probably hoped from a new translation, to obtain new arguments in favour of his party. But whether this conjecture be grounded it will be easier to determine, when the whole of the Philoxenian version is printed, from observing in what manner those passages are translated, that were usually quoted in the above-mentioned religious disputes: Some inference might be deduced from 1 Tim. iii. 16. if we had several copies of this version, for in Ridley's manuscript, as he himself observes, a word seems to be wanting. But *υψιος*, which is added in the margin Acts xx. 28. by no means favours the principles of the Monophysites.

## 2. Thomas

sense, it is the subscription of a monk, who in the year 616 collated several copies of this version, which were preserved in his monastery, and may therefore be considered as a token of the edition revised, corrected, and published in 616<sup>13</sup>.

2. Thomas of Heraclea, from whom this version is sometimes called the Heracleian, undertook a critical correction of it, for which purpose he made a journey to Alexandria, in order to compare it with some of the best manuscripts of the Alexandrine library, and it is probable that he was the author of the various readings that are found in the margin of Ridley's and the Roman manuscripts<sup>4</sup>.

This Thomas, whose life is described by Affeman, Tom. II. p. 90—95. was of the sect of the Monophysites, a native of Harkel (ܚܪܩܠ) in Palestine, a place which is hitherto unknown<sup>6</sup>, and bishop of Germanicia<sup>7</sup>, (in Syriac, Marhas, ܡܪܗܫ). Now it appears from the history of Syria, that there was a bishop Thomas of Germanicia, who was dispossessed of his See in 518, for espousing the cause of the Monophysites, and died at Samosata, in what year is unknown, though it is certain that he was alive in 533. He was a contemporary then of Philoxenus<sup>8</sup>, and it is probable that his journey to Alexandria, and his emendations of the Syriac version, were prior to his episcopal appointment. But as Affeman is of opinion that the Thomas, who amended the Philoxenian version, lived in 616, he supposed, without any historical evidence, that there lived, an hundred years later than the Thomas recorded in the Syrian annals, another person of the same name, character, and description<sup>9</sup>. This conjecture is very improbable, nor is there any necessity for having recourse to it, if we follow that reading of the subscription, which is quoted by Wetstein and Storr.

It was mentioned in the preceding section, that Mar Aba, who came from Persia, learnt Greek at Edeffa, from a person of the name of Thomas, whom he afterwards accompanied to Alexandria, where he devoted himself to Syriac translations from the Greek\*. Greg. Bar. Hebræus, whose history of the Primates of the East has been extracted by Affeman, makes on this occasion the following remark: 'We might suppose that this was Thomas of Heraclea, if the year 616, in which the Heracleian version was published at Alexandria, were not an argument against

\* Affema. Bib. Orient. Tom. II. p. 411.



it<sup>10</sup>. Now if the above-mentioned reading  $\omega\omega\lambda$  be genuine, there must have been two editions of this work, and the difficulty is removed: besides, all the circumstances correspond so exactly to each other, as to render the whole account extremely probable, for Mar Aba, who was primate in 535, might have learnt Greek at Edeſſa from Thomas of Heraclea soon after the year 508, Thomas might have travelled with him to Alexandria, have been appointed bishop of Germanicia at his return, and dispossessed in 518.

3. In the year 616, a new edition was made, and copies distributed of this version. The name of the editor is unknown, for he speaks only of the great labour that he had bestowed, for which, he says, the Lord will reward him, but added not his name, because, he says, it is not unknown to the Lord. Storr supposes, § 37. that more Greek manuscripts were collated in this edition, but I can see no ground for the conjecture<sup>21</sup>.

4. To the foregoing accounts must be added, that Dionysius Barsalibæus\*, who was bishop of Amida from 1166 to 1171, revised this version, and published a new edition, to which Ridley's copy, that is described as having been collated with four manuscripts<sup>22</sup>, may most probably be referred. See Ridley's treatise, p. 47—50 and Asseman, Tom. II. p. 94<sup>23</sup>.

I will now consider the nature and character of the version itself. As it appeared not in print till after the three first editions of the present work, and as I had no opportunity of examining a manuscript, I was obliged to rely on the accounts that were given by others, especially by Storr, who had seen the Syriac original. I here publicly acknowledge my obligations for the information received, which I have since found by experience to be grounded on the truth<sup>24</sup>, and will subjoin therefore, in a note<sup>b</sup>, the observations which I had borrowed,

\* His life and writings are described at length in Assemani Bibl. Or. Tom. II. p. 156—211.

<sup>b</sup> The translation is in the highest possible degree literal, as appears from Storr's dissertation, § 39—43. The Syriac language has no article,

rowed, on account of the well-chosen examples that are selected as proofs, and will close this section with an extract from the sixteenth volume of the Oriental Bibliothek, in which I reviewed at large White's edition of this celebrated version, where the reader will find examples and proofs, the present room being too confined to admit more than the general conclusions.

The intrinsic worth of the Philoxenian version admits no comparison with that of the Peshito; the style is much inferior, and more difficult to be understood, the version is less accurate, and the translator was less acquainted with the Greek; it is neither so valuable to a divine, for the purposes of instruction in the Christian religion, nor to the learned expositor as a mean of explaining difficult and doubtful passages. But the version is not devoid of value, and is of real importance to a critic, whose object is to select a variety of readings, with the view of restoring the genuine text of the Greek original: for he may be fully assured, that every phrase and expression is a precise copy of the Greek text, as it stood in the manuscript from which the version was made. But as it is not prior to the sixth century, and the

title, because the status emphaticus supplies its place: (see my Chalde Grammar, § 20. though I confess that in many Syriac words the status emphaticus has lost its force): but that not even a tittle of the Greek might be lost, the translator has used for the Greek article, *ο* *α* *ο* *α* and *ο* *α*, in the same manner as *iste* and *ille* are sometimes introduced in incorrect modern Latin. He has adopted Greek words, writing, for instance, *μᾶλλον* in Syriac characters *ܡܐܠܠܝܢ*, has attempted to express the composition of Greek words, translating *εὐσεβος* by *ܠܘܫܡܥܝܠܐ* *ܠܡܥܝܠܐ*, and *εὐφρων* by *ܠܡܥܝܠܐ*, *ܠܡܥܝܠܐ*, has paid a strict attention to diminutives, translating *ἰσθμὸς* by *ܐܝܠܐ*, *ἰσθμὸς* by *ܐܝܠܐ*, *ἰσθμὸς* by *ܐܝܠܐ*, *ἰσθμὸς* by *ܐܝܠܐ*, *ἰσθμὸς* by *ܐܝܠܐ*, *ἰσθμὸς* by *ܐܝܠܐ*, has made it a rule to translate the same Greek word in all cases in the same manner, has imitated the Greek construction, writing *ܡܡܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ* *Matth. iii. 4.* because *ἰσθμὸς* governs an accusative, though *ܐܠܐ* requires a nominative; has retained, wherever it was possible, the Greek arrangement, and even the Greek orthography, in Oriental words, not excepting those cases in which the Greek letters were incapable of expressing the Oriental sounds; he has written for instance *ܠܡܥܝܠܐ ܥܠܥܝܠܐ*, *ܠܡܥܝܠܐ ܥܠܥܝܠܐ*.

the Peshito was written either at the end of the first, or at the beginning of the second century<sup>25</sup>, it is of less importance to know the readings of the Greek manuscript, that was used in the former, than those of the original employed in the latter.

1. The Syriac language, that appears in perfect purity in the old version, is intermixed in the Philoxenian with a variety of Greek words, which render it unpleasing, and their diversity of style betrays not only a distance of time, but difference of place. The intermixture of Greek words is not merely such as is found in the later Syriac writers, especially in Bar Hebræus, but the translator appears to have been anxiously careful to retain the marks and idioms of the original, that are inadmissible into other languages, and, as if a certain beauty and energy lay concealed in the very forms of the Greek words, he expresses even the vowels, and the terminations of the Greek cases: for instance, Mark i. 28. he has written ܐܘܠܐܝܬܐ, because *πρωτος* is there used in the accusative, but Mark vi. 55. he has written ܐܘܠܐܝܬܐ. The old Syriac translator, instead of Greek words with terminations of cases, has written pure Syriac, using in the first instance ܐܠܐ, in the second ܐܠܐ. Again, Mark iii. 15. *καὶ ὄχι ἐξουσίαν* is rendered ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ, but in the old Syriac version is ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ. See Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 124, 125<sup>26</sup>.

2. The author of the Philoxenian version, as Storr observes, § 47. has evidently made the Peshito the basis of his own, and has altered what he supposed to be not sufficiently precise. This was remarked in the preceding section, with respect to the version of the Revelation of St. John.

3. The version is not only literal, but, in the strictest sense of the word, servile; and it seems to have been the resolution of the translator, that not a single tone of the Greek original should be lost. Mark xiv. 58. *δια τριων ημερων* is translated in the old version intelligibly, and in good Syriac, ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ, but because *δια* is used in the Greek, the author of the Philoxenian version has rendered

rendered the passage in the following ridiculous and unmeaning manner, *ܠܒܝܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ*, 'through (literally, 'through the hand') three days, I build another.' See *Orient. Bibl.* xvi. 119—122<sup>27</sup>. Mark xiii.

26. *καὶ τότε ὀφείλουται τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is rendered in the old version *ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ*, and as the other translator was obliged to retain this mode of expression, because the idiom of the Syriac language admits no other, he has gone so far as to mark with an obelus the pleonastic suffix *ܠܡܢܐ* in *ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ*, as not being in the Greek, but has fortunately forgotten to put the same mark over *ܐܢܝܢ* in *ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ*, which, as well as the preceding, neither was nor could be used in the original. A version thus servilely precise, might perhaps have edified a superstitious enthusiast, but could have given no pleasure to a rational reader, who seeks not the shadow, but the substance.

4. Exceptions are sometimes found to the foregoing observation, where the translation is more free, more agreeable to good sense, and the idiom of the language, and where usual expressions of the Peshito are retained: for instance, *ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ*, dies natalis, *Matth.* xiv. 6. *Mark* vi. 21. Nor does the translator at all times attempt to express the Greek diminutives. See *Or. Bibl.* xvi. 123. 124.

5. Oriental proper names are written, according to the Greek orthography, in such a manner as entirely to destroy their Oriental etymology; for instance, when *λαωδός*, in Hebrew *לוד*, occurs in the accusative, we find in the Philoxenian version *ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ*: and what is still more extraordinary, when the same proper name occurs twice in a passage, the Greek orthography is preserved in one instance by inserting one of the *matres lectionis* *ܐܢܝܢ*, as in the foregoing example, in the other instance it is written according to the true 'Oriental orthography'. *Or. Bibl.* xvi. p. 128—132. 162. 163. The translator then has studiously neglected an advantage, which a Syriac version of the New Testament might peculiarly possess, that of expressing properly and intelligibly Oriental proper names.

6. The same phrases that are properly translated in the Peshito, are often falsely rendered in the Phil. version, for instance *κατα τας*, Mark xiii. 8. is given in the former by ܠܒܝܠܐܝܢܐ 'in various places', but in the latter by ܠܒܝܠܐܝܢܐ 'in all places.' In general, Polycarp, notwithstanding his affection for the Greek idiom, was by no means so well acquainted with the Greek language as his predecessor.

7. I have carefully collated the fourteen first chapters of St. Mark, in order to discover to what manuscripts this version is principally related, and with this view have confined myself to those readings, which are found either in a single manuscript only, or in a very few. The result of this collation was as follows.

The Philoxenian version has five readings that are found in no manuscript hitherto examined: namely, chap. i. 44. vi. 15. 21. ix. 19. xiv. 69.

It agrees with the Cod. Cant. in six unusual readings, namely chap. i. 5. 21. iv. 9. vii. 13. viii. 17. xiv. 42.

And in five with the Cod. Winchelseaanus, chap. iii. 21. iv. 11. v. 7. vi. 11. viii. 4.

I found also several single examples of coincidence with particular manuscripts, which may be seen in the Or. Bibl. p. 158<sup>10</sup>. It is true that a comparison of only fourteen chapters is not sufficient to enable us to form an adequate judgement, and whoever would take the trouble to examine it with all due attention, might determine with more certainty the worth and the edition of the collated manuscripts, as well as of the version itself. The other books of the New Testament should be likewise compared, but if I had leisure for the task, I have no opportunity, as only the four Gospels have appeared in print.

The Greek translation of Chaldee and Hebrew expressions\*, as *Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani*, is translated into Syriac, which in fact was necessary in the Philoxenian version, as the words are so disfigured, that no Syrian could have understood them without an explanation.

The story of the adulteress, John vii. 53—viii. 11. was

\* Matth. xxvii. 46. Mark vii. 11. 34. xiv. 36. xv. 34. John i. 42.

was translated neither by Polycarp nor Thomas : in some manuscripts therefore the passage is entirely omitted<sup>22</sup>, in others it is found with the addition of a note, signifying that it was rendered by a different translator. In this manner it is found in Ridley's manuscript, as translated in 522 by Mari Aba, mentioned in the preceding section, and Storr found it in the Paris MS. likewise with the addition of a note, expressing that a monk of the name of Paul was the translator, but Storr observes that the paragraph, as it stands in this manuscript, differs from the text of Usher's manuscript, from which it was taken for the London Polyglot<sup>23</sup>. The close of the 16<sup>th</sup> chap. of the epistle to the Romans is found likewise at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> chapter, but 1 John v. 7. is entirely omitted. In a passage of importance, 1 Tim. iii. 16. where curiosity is excited on account of the Monophysite disputes, and where the greatest accuracy might therefore be expected, we are left entirely in the dark. *Εὐσεβεία* is generally translated in the Phil. version *ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘܐ*, but in this passage the text of Ridley's first manuscript<sup>24</sup> is *ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ* and, as I understand from p. 49 of Ridley's dissertation, *ܐܠܗܐ* is added in the margin, on which he observes, that *ܐܠܗܐ* and *ܐܠܗܐ* are commonly expressed in this version by *ܐܠܗܐ*. It should seem then that the reading of the Greek manuscript, from which the Phil. version was made, was *ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘܐ*, were not the probability diminished by the two following circumstances : 1. that *ܐܠܗܐ* is wanting in the text, and is added in the margin as a various reading ; 2. that *ܐܠܗܐ* is here superfluous, and alters the usual phrase, 'beauty of fear,' into 'beauty of the fear of God.' Here Ridley remarks, that though *Εὐσεβεία* is commonly translated in the Peshito *ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘܐ*, 'fear of God,' and in the Phil. version 'beauty of fear,' he has never met with an instance where these two expressions are joined together. We might conjecture that the translator intended to unite both readings, *ܐܠܗܐ* and *ܐܠܗܐ*, and to render the passage as if the original were *ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘܐ*, but here again the conjecture is defeated,

feated, because  $\Delta\Delta$  stands in statu constructo. The second manuscript of Ridley<sup>14</sup>, having the epistles according to the text of the Peshito, can afford us no assistance on this occasion, and the learned are naturally curious to know the reading of other manuscripts of the Phil. version. A single Olaph added at the end of  $\Delta\Delta$  would make a considerable alteration<sup>35</sup>.

Of the Greek manuscripts, which were collated with the Syriac, and from which Greek various readings were added in the margin, an account will be given in the following chapter, in treating of the Codices Thomæ Heracleensis.

In the *Curæ in actus apostolorum Syriacos*, I ventured a conjecture, that the Philoxenian version might in some cases have been interpolated from the marginal readings, and the Peshito from the Philoxenian. Ridley was of a different opinion, as he found by actual experience, that his manuscripts confirmed not the truth of my conjectures. I candidly confess that both the arguments, and the examples, which I alleged in support of them, have since appeared to me to be doubtful; but as doubt is the only mean of discovering the truth, I retained in the third edition the remarks which I had made on this subject in the second. Storr, who has examined several manuscripts of this version, contends that my former suspicions are really grounded. He says, in the 53<sup>d</sup> section of his dissertation, that he found in the text of several manuscripts of the Phil. version, what others, and even those of Ridley, have in the margin, of which he gives several examples: secondly, (§ 61, 62.) that the Peshito is in some instances interpolated from the Philoxenian, and sometimes the latter from the former (§ 56, 57.) The reader may compare therefore these sections of Storr's dissertation with the 16<sup>th</sup> section of that of Ridley.

According to the testimony of Adler, the Roman manuscripts of the Philoxenian version are not only different from that of Ridley, published by White, but, as appeared to him on examination, more correct: we may therefore expect, in some future period, a more correct edition,

edition. See *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XVII. N<sup>o</sup>. 266. p. 123. and Vol. XVIII. p. 277<sup>46</sup>.

It was observed in the former part of this section, that Wettstein, in order to enrich his collection of various readings, made extracts from Ridley's manuscript, which at that time had never been printed, and these extracts were during many years our only source of information. Now, though we cannot but admire his extraordinary diligence, in selecting in the short space of fourteen days so many valuable materials, yet since the manuscript has been printed, and we are able to compare it with the extracts of Wettstein, we must acknowledge not only that they are very imperfect, as might be expected from so short a time, but sometimes actually false, the mistakes being occasioned as well by a want of sufficient knowledge of the Syriac, as by the hurry in which he wrote. Of these the reader will find examples in the 16<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* p. 143—155, taken from the fourteen first chapters of St. Mark. Every critic therefore who would quote various readings from the Philoxenian version, must have recourse to the version itself, and not conclude from the silence of Wettstein in any passage, that no various readings exist. If the work should be ever published complete, I hope that some future critic who has abilities for the undertaking, will supply what is hitherto wanting<sup>37</sup>.

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## S E C T. XII.

### *Of other Syriac Versions.*

**B**ESIDE the Peshito and Philoxenian versions, it is probable that there existed others, with which at present we are unacquainted. Ridley is even of opinion that the Peshito is a composition of several Syriac versions, made in the first century, in the same manner as the Latin Vulgate. But this is very improbable, and totally unfounded on historical evidence. Syria had an established



blished church at an earlier period than any country in Europe, for the kings of Edessa were converted to Christianity before the middle of the first century, and the ceremonies of the church were attended with solemnity and pomp. When a religion is thus publicly introduced, the first care is to procure an authentic version of the sacred writings for the public service, and the situation of the Syrian church in the first centuries, was very different from that of the Latin in the countries to the north and south of the Mediterranean, where no version was made by public authority, but a great variety of individuals made private translations for themselves.

On the other hand we have seen above that versions were made by Mari Abba, and Paul the monk, but what books they translated is unknown<sup>1</sup>.

The Nestorian Christians who inhabit the mountains of Assyria, whose language differs in some respects from that of the more Western Jacobites, and who pronounce their dialect of Aramæan as we pronounce Chaldeæ, have a peculiar version, which they call the Karkufite, (ܟܪܟܘܦܝܬܐ). This name is probably derived from ܟܪܟܘܦܝܬܐ, which signifies the head, and also the top of a mountain, and Assemani translated it 'montana.' He speaks indeed of this version in treating of the Old Testament, but there is reason to suppose that it includes also the New. We have no further account of this version, than that the celebrated and learned Gregorius Bar Hebræus, or as he is called Abulpharagius, has often quoted it in his commentary on the Bible entituled *Horreum mysteriorum*<sup>2</sup>. See Assemani *Bibl. Or.* Tom. II. p. 283. I wish I had an opportunity of consulting this version on Acts xx. 28. and 1 Tim. iii. 16. because those are passages, that relate immediately to the religious controversy between the Nestorians and Eutychians<sup>3</sup>. The readings ܐܝܠܐ and ܐܝܠܐ would be favourable to the Eutychians, the other to the Nestorians. A learned traveller would merit the thanks of the public who could discover a copy of this version in one of the countries, that border

<sup>1</sup> Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 379.

der on the Tigris, and still contain many literary treasures of great importance<sup>4</sup>.

Professor Adler found at Rome a valuable Syriac or rather Chaldee version of the New Testament, though it is only a *Lectionarium*. Of this manuscript, which is known in the Vatican by the name of *Codex Vaticanus xix.* he gave me an account, which I printed in the 19<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Orient. Bibl. No. 287.* and he has himself given a more circumstantial description of it in his *Biblical and critical Journey to Rome*, p. 118—127<sup>s</sup>. It is written in characters that differ from the common alphabet, of which I have given a specimen in the copper-plate belonging to the 5<sup>th</sup> section of the Syriac grammar, under the name of *Alphabetum Adlerianum*: and I have added another plate with a fac-simile of the remarkable passage *Matth. xxvii. 17.* where the reading of this manuscript is *Jesus Barabbas*. The status emphaticus pluralis ends in *œ*, and the prefix to the third person of the plural is not Nun, as usual in Syriac, but Jod: its dialect is therefore East Aramæan or Chaldee. The following is a specimen taken from *Matth. xxvii. 15—23.* which is all that Adler communicated.

[illegible]

The various readings of this manuscript are of great consequence, but it is not yet known to what dialect of the Aramæan language the version is to be referred. J. S. Affeman, in the short description which he has given of it, says it is written in the dialect of Palestine, but whether he had historical grounds for this assertion, Adler, to whom I proposed the question, was unable to discover. The term dialectus Palæstinæ is very indeterminate, because the dialect used in the northern part of that country was different from that of Jerusalem, and I would therefore prefer dialectus Judææ, or dialectus Hierosolymitana. But it is uncertain whether this version was made in any part of Palestine, and it is not impossible that it is the same with the above-mentioned Karkusite\*. In short, it were much to be wished that we had better accounts of it, or rather that we were in possession of the version itself.

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### S E C T. XIII.

#### *Of the Coptic version\*.*

**W**E have likewise a version of the New Testament in the Coptic language, of which I can judge only from the testimony of others. The Coptic was the common language of Egypt before the invasion of the Saracens; it is a mixture of the old Egyptian and the Greek, but is neither spoken nor understood by the modern Egyptians\*. Accounts of it may be seen in different places of the *Thesaurus epistolicus* la Crozæ, of which the index may be consulted for the articles Copticus, Ægyptus; Wilke, and Wilkins. It has no affinity to the Hebrew, except in single words which have been borrowed from the Arabic, as we are informed by those who are masters of the language, and as every man who can read the Coptic letters may himself discover, both from the Coptic grammars, and from the Dictionary of La Croze, published by Woide<sup>3</sup> at Oxford in 1775.

Those

Those who have hitherto been able to read and examine the Coptic version, contend that it is ancient, and Wilkins in the preface to his edition of the Coptic New Testament, has supported its antiquity by several arguments, which to the editors of the *Acta eruditorum* for 1717, p. 436, 437, appeared however unsatisfactory. His chief argument is drawn from Antonius, who began to lead an ascetic life about the year 271. It is known that this Egyptian was ignorant of Greek, and yet many have testified that he read the New Testament. But to this argument the authors of the *Acta eruditorum* reply, that the only inference to be deduced is, that there was at that time a translation of the Bible in Egypt, not that the present Coptic was the version read by Antonius. The objection is the more plausible, because there actually exists another version of the Bible in the dialect of Upper Egypt, which shall be examined in the following section. See Thes. La Croz. Tom. III. 283, and Jablonski *Pantheon Egypt. P. II. Prolegomena*, p. 130. The arguments alleged by Wetstein, p. 110. to prove it to be more modern, are totally ungrounded, and it is therefore a matter of doubt whether the Coptic, or that written in Upper Egypt, is the version that existed in the third century<sup>4</sup>. At all events the Coptic must be regarded as a principal version, having given birth to several others in the Arabic language: for since the time that Egypt was invaded by the Saracens, who extirpated the old language, the Egyptians have generally annexed to the Coptic New Testament an Arabic translation, which has almost superseded the original. But the Coptic is still used in the service of the Egyptian church, though understood by none of the audience. The readings of the Coptic have a striking affinity with those of the Latin version, and sometimes with those of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*. The story of the adulteress is found in some copies, and omitted in others<sup>5</sup>; but 1 John v. 7. is omitted in all. Wetstein has also observed that the Coptic New Testament has a very great similarity to the quotations of Origen, Eusebius, Cyril, and to the Alexandrine manuscripts:

manuscripts: this inquiry I have never made with design, but I have observed in the course of my reading its remarkable coincidence with the readings of Origen.

Thomas Marshall had once thoughts of printing the Coptic version<sup>o</sup>, but his design proving abortive, the publication was reserved for the celebrated David Wilkins, a native of Memel in Prussia, who after having studied the Coptic, made a journey to Amsterdam, with the design of committing the Coptic version to the press. But several advantageous circumstances offering themselves at Oxford, he repaired to that University, at whose expence he published the Coptic New Testament, which was printed at the Theatre in 1716<sup>7</sup>. Besides a long preface, he added a Latin translation of the Coptic text: but Jablonski and La Croze have no very favourable opinion of his work, and have ranked him among the mere pretenders to learning, the former having declared that on a cursory perusal of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles, he found not less than 150 deviations from the Coptic text, in the Latin translation of those books alone. Now this judgment is not only severe and partial, but even grounded on error, for those critics who in later times have paid particular attention to the Coptic language, have a much more favourable opinion of Wilkins. Beside the unavoidable errors of the press, there were many errata in the manuscripts, from which the edition was printed: among these were several grammatical errors, which Jablonski says ought to have been corrected by Wilkins. But according to the rules of sound criticism, no editor is justified, on the first impression of a manuscript, in correcting what he supposes to be faulty: it is his duty to present to the public a true copy of the Original, and not to alter it according to his own judgement, which may be frequently erroneous. Later critics in this language have likewise observed that many expressions, which have the appearance of being ungrammatical, may in another dialect be really admissible, and that an editor who published before the existence of either a good lexicon, or a good gram-

mar, is at least excusable if he faithfully prints the very mistakes of grammar contained in his manuscript. It cannot be denied that Wilkins took great pains to present the world with a faithful copy, and that his endeavours were not without success. From the first editor of a work perfection is not to be expected, later editors have an opportunity of collating a great variety of manuscripts, and if Woide had undertaken the task, we might have justly expected a very complete edition of the Coptic version<sup>9</sup>.

Mill, who was not acquainted with Coptic, has given extracts from the Coptic version among his various readings, which may still be regarded as authentic, because they were taken from the papers that were left by Marshall<sup>9</sup>. Bengel has made some additions to the extracts of Mill, which are equally authentic, as the author was indebted for them to La Croze. Wilkins in his *Prolegomena*, p. 11—40. has taken notice of those readings which appeared to him to be remarkable: these have been used by Wetstein, who has in this manner augmented the collection of his predecessors. Yet impartial critics have observed that the readings collected by Wilkins are not all of them authentic, not to mention those which he has omitted: for instance Luke xiii. 8. βαλω κικριαν according to Wilkins is expressed in the Coptic *dem arationem ei*, a very extraordinary translation, since the subject relates to a vine; but Wilkins was mistaken, and the Coptic version has properly expressed the Greek original. This reading Wetstein has judiciously omitted. John xviii. 1. χειμαρρος των κερων or τα κερη is, according to Wilkins, expressed in the Coptic by *torrens plantatoris*, whereas the Coptic expresses exactly τα κερη, the reading of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which is found in no other Greek manuscript. This remark is taken from Wetstein, to whom it was communicated by men well acquainted with the Coptic. John xxi. 8. for διακοσιων the Coptic, according to Wilkins, has 700, but in fact it is 800, as Wetstein has rightly quoted in his various readings<sup>10</sup>.

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Those who trust to the Latin translation for the various readings of the Coptic version, are exposed to the danger of being often led into error, as according to the most favourable opinions, it is by no means accurate. Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein have observed, that instead of *τι με λεγεις αγαθον*, Matth. xix. 17. the reading of the Coptic version, and of the Cod. Cant. was *τι με ερωτας περι του αγαθου*. Now a collector of various readings who corrected this remark from Wilkins's translation, 'propter quid appellas me bonum' would alter what is right, for the reading of the Coptic version is really such as is alleged by the three above-mentioned critics. In the same manner we should be mistaken, if we supposed that 'vias' was a various reading for *απειλας* Acts iv. 29. or 'ex Tarso' for *εις Ταρσον*, since in both cases Wilkins has given a false translation, unless in the first instance *vias* is an error of the press for 'iras'. A knowledge therefore of the Coptic language is absolutely necessary for every man who would use the Coptic version, and Bode is highly to be commended for having taken no notice of it in his *Pseudocritica Milliana*.

A very accurate specimen of the various readings of this version, taken from the epistles of St. John and St. Jude, were communicated to me by Woide, and may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. X. p. 198—214<sup>12</sup>. I own that not all of them appear to be actually various readings, but as it is better to produce too much than too little, I have inserted the whole, in order to give the reader an opportunity of examining them according to the rules laid down by my father in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, which are founded on true criticism.

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## S E C T. XIV.

### *Of the Sahidic version.*

THE Upper Egypt, or the part which lies between Cahira and Assuan, had a particular dialect, which in many respects differed from that spoken in the

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the lower Egypt. As the upper Egypt is called in Arabic *سعيد* Said, or, as several other nations write it, Sahid, this dialect has received the name of Sahidic.

The Sahidic version exists only in manuscript, no part of it having been ever printed<sup>2</sup>: yet it seems to be of some importance. We had no further knowledge of it than merely its name, till Woide had the kindness to communicate to me some valuable accounts of it, accompanied with extracts from the epistles of St. John and St. Jude, which I have inserted in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. III. N° 46. and Vol. X. N° 172<sup>3</sup>. It contains all the books of the New Testament; and, what is remarkable, has a very great affinity to the *Cod. Cantabrigiensis*, of which the reader will find several striking examples in the third volume<sup>4</sup> of the *Orient. Bibl.* p. 201—207. Some of its readings lead to very important conclusions, for instance, the omission of *εως* Acts xvi. 9. whence we discover the harmony of the Egyptian, Western, and Edeffene editions<sup>5</sup>. This circumstance opens a new field in Biblical criticism, and naturally excites a wish that a version, which has so many variations from the common text might appear in print; should this desire be ever fulfilled, we must expect it from the University of Oxford. With respect to the century, in which it was written, I know nothing more of it than what I have already published in the *Orient. Bibl.* but its great similarity to the *Cod. Cantabrigiensis* excites a presumption in favour of its high antiquity, and it is probably older than the version published by Wilkins<sup>6</sup>.

## SECT. XV.

### *Of the Arabic version in general.*

SIMON in his *Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T.* ch. 18. has given an account of the Arabic versions, and my father in his *tractatio critica de var. lect. N. T.* § 27—31, 62, 74—77, has described them still more fully and accurately,  
Vol. II. F



curately, to which treatises may be added that of Storr, published in 1775 *De Evangeliiis Arabicis*<sup>1</sup>. I shall therefore be the more concise on this subject, whenever I can refer to these publications.

There are many Arabic versions of the New Testament beside those which have appeared in print. For since the Arabic language has been extended from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean, and has supplanted the Syriac and Egyptian, the inhabitants of these countries have been obliged to annex Arabic translations to the ancient versions, which are no longer understood. These translations were made immediately from the Syriac and the Coptic, in the same manner as those, which are added to the Greek text, are taken from the Greek<sup>2</sup>; for it is said by Simon, that the Greek text and the Arabic version were sometimes written together, in support of which assertion, he appeals to the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Lugdunensis*, p. 281, published in 1674<sup>3</sup>.

It is the general opinion of the learned, that all the Arabic versions are later than the age of Muhammed, and that before this period, the New Testament was never translated into Arabic. If this opinion were founded on truth, it might afford just matter of surprise, that the Arabs could have so long dispensed with a translation of the New Testament, as the Christian religion was very early propagated in that country<sup>4</sup>. It is said that the Arabs, before the time of Muhammed, were not acquainted with the use of letters: but this is absolutely false, for poetry flourished in Arabia long before that time, and it was the practice of the Arabs, to hang up those poems, which obtained the prize of competition, in the temple of Mecca, and which thence obtained the name of Muallakat. This honour was conferred on Labid a contemporary of Muhammed, but the poet himself pronounced the second chapter of the Koran superior to his own composition<sup>5</sup>. A more full account of this subject may be seen in Sale's preliminary discourse, prefixed to his translation of the Koran, p. 61.

If a reason must be assigned, I would rather suppose that the Syriac was so well known in Arabia, that the inhabitants of that country, like other Oriental Christians, made use of the Syriac version: or that the Christian religion was so corrupted in Arabia, that they used chiefly the apocryphal Gospels. This at least is certain, that the accounts which are given of Christ in the Koran, are not taken from the four genuine Gospels. But I really see no satisfactory reason for concluding, that all the Arabic versions are modern: and some of those arguments alleged in favour of this opinion, those for instance that are contained in the 30<sup>th</sup> section of my father's treatise, apply only to the Arabic version of St. Paul's epistles, that is printed in the Polyglots, but they affect not the antiquity of the four Gospels. The subject therefore deserves a further examination<sup>c</sup>, especially with regard to

<sup>c</sup> I will mention a few of the arguments that have been alleged, to shew that all the Arabic versions are more modern, than the age of Muhammed: but none of these arguments afford any proof. Brian Walton appeals to the names of persons and places in the Old Testament, which are written in the Arabic versions in the same manner as in the Koran<sup>d</sup>. But shall we therefore conclude that they were taken from the Koran? It is probable that Muhammed wrote these names according to the orthography already adopted, for the Arabs were not acquainted with the history of the Bible: and in every Arabic version, whether ancient or modern, the same mode of writing the proper names was unavoidable<sup>e</sup>. Others again appeal to the Arabic translation of *vers* Luke xi. 31. which is rendered by *قبلة*, locus, quo quis se dirigit inter precandum, a word which has allusion to the command of Muhammed, to pray with the face towards Mecca, which lay to the south. But this custom was much more ancient than the time of Muhammed, who abolished it, and ordered the Arabs to turn towards Jerusalem, though he revoked the order at the express desire of the Arabs themselves, and permitted the ancient custom<sup>f</sup>.

The most important argument that can be alleged against the antiquity of all the Arabic versions, is that Muhammed in relating biblical histories, makes such mistakes as he would hardly have committed, if he had seen an Arabic translation of the New Testament. But it must be remarked,

1. That many false and apocryphal Gospels were at that time current in the East, from which he not only might, but actually did derive many of his errors<sup>g</sup>.

to the Revelation of St. John, because Hippolytus, a zealous advocate of its authenticity, is said to have been bishop of Aden in Arabia Felix, about the year 220<sup>th</sup>.

## S E C T. XVI.

### *Of the editions of the Arabic versions.*

**T**HE Arabic versions, which have appeared in print, must not be considered as one and the same translation, for they are very distinct from each other, both with respect to their age, and modes of expression. When Mill therefore in his various readings quotes the Arabic version, he leaves us at a loss to determine what particular version he intended<sup>1</sup>.

My father in the 27<sup>th</sup> section of the above quoted treatise, has mentioned the following editions of the Arabic versions.

1. The Roman edition of the four Gospels, in folio, published in 1591, and said to have been reprinted in 1619. This edition, of which I had been able to collect only imperfect accounts, I can now describe more circumstantially, and with greater certainty, as I am in possession of a copy brought from Italy by Professor Hwüd.

It was printed at Rome in 1590 and 1591 in the Medicean printing house: 1590 stands on the title page, 1591 in the subscription: to some of the copies is annexed a Latin translation, which has been already noticed

2. That Muhammed was entirely ignorant of chronology, and that, even if he had read the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, he would still have been ignorant how many ages Moses lived before that period, as he confounds the name of his sister with that of the mother of Jesus<sup>2</sup>.

It appears then that the strongest objection is of no weight, and that it is reasonable to conclude that the Arabs had an ancient version of the New Testament, though we cannot determine to which of the Arabic versions in particular this title of antiquity is due<sup>3</sup>.

ticed by Simon. The copy in my possession is without a translation, and consists of 368 pages; another copy with the translation in our University library has 462 pages, not including the leaf which contains the postscript *Typographus lectori, &c.* the list of Errata, and the subscription *Romæ e typographia Medicea MDXCI.* The Latin translation is printed under each line of the Arabic text, and is taken from the Vulgate, though the Latin text is in some measure altered so as to make it correspond to the Arabic. It was perhaps added for the use of the missionaries, or of those who were instructed for that purpose. Both editions are ornamented, or rather disgraced with plates engraved in wood, which, though they do credit to the engraver considered as productions of art, reflect no honour on the editors, who inserted them. The baptism of Christ is represented, not according to the Oriental custom of immersion, but according to the modern practice of aspersion: for this purpose our Saviour is placed not in Jordan, but at the edge of the river with his feet only immersed, while John the Baptist, kneeling on a rock, pours water on his head. It is true that this description deserves no place in a work like the present, which is merely critical, but as the editors of this very important edition are unknown, we are naturally curious to have at least some notion of their character.

As this is the *Editio princeps* of the Arabic Gospels, it is necessary to give a short description of the text. The manuscript from which it was taken, is totally unknown, for the work was published before the custom was introduced of writing prefaces: yet, as far as we can judge, it appears to have been accurate. I have found on comparing it with the catechism of the Druses, (who are certainly not Christians, though they have placed among their sacred books the four Gospels, which they have disfigured with very unchristian and irrational explanations) that the passages there quoted from the Gospels coincide with this edition: the version therefore must have been long and generally known in Asia<sup>2</sup>. Erpenius observes in the preface to his Arabic New Testament, that this edition

has a great resemblance to the manuscript, from which he printed the four Gospels, excepting the thirteen first chapters of St. Matthew. The version was certainly taken from the Greek: but Simon was of a different opinion, because he found it very different from those Arabic versions, that are annexed to the Coptic, and more similar to those, which are joined to the Syriac; whence he concluded that it was taken, not from the Greek, but the Syriac text. Now this conclusion is false, for were it taken immediately from the Syriac, it would resemble the Greek versions, that are written opposite to the Syriac text, not in some only but in all respects<sup>2</sup>. In fact it deviates in such a degree from the Syriac, that it cannot possibly have been taken from it: and its coincidence with that text, in certain remarkable readings, proves only that both versions were taken from the Greek manuscripts, that were nearly related to each other. Whoever could communicate intelligence with respect to the history, antiquity, and author of this version would be entitled to public thanks.

The pretended edition of 1619 is the mere artifice of a bookseller, who hoped to bring the old copies into circulation by prefixing a new title, as if the work had undergone a new edition. Vogt in his *Catalogus librorum rariorum*, p. 270, says, non tamen duplex editio prodit, sed saltem novus titulus præfixus est operi, siquidem in calce voluminis utriusque editionis legitur; Romæ in typographia Medicea 1691. It is true that not all the copies have this subscription, it being wanting for instance in that of our University library, which has on the title page 1619. Yet this is no proof of a new edition, but only that the impostor had wisely cut out the last leaf, containing the subscription; and he printed at the bottom of p. 462, with which this copy ends, the word FINIS. A perfect uniformity in the text, the number of the pages, and the wooden impressions, clearly shew that it is one and the same edition.

2. This edition of the four Gospels, was reprinted with several alterations in the Paris Polyglot, to which

was added an Arabic version of the remaining books of the New Testament. It is a misfortune that the disputes, which arose among the editors, have been the means of depriving us of the necessary accounts of the manuscripts, from which the version of the epistles was taken, and perhaps that of the Gospels corrected<sup>4</sup>.

My late father in the 30<sup>th</sup> Sect. of his above-mentioned treatise, has given his reasons for doubting the antiquity of this version: Velthusen in his Observations on various subjects, p. 100. has made objections to his arguments, and in the 6<sup>th</sup> Vol. of the Orient. Bibl. p. 87. I promised to examine the evidence again: this promise I will here fulfil.

To the antiquity of this version my father objected,  
a. That Spain, Rom. xv. 24. is translated اندلس Andalusia.

Answer. In the 28<sup>th</sup> versc it is translated لسيانية: one of the two readings therefore must be an interpolation, and as it is very improbable, that the translator would have rendered Σπαινα by any other word, we must conclude that the former is a corruption. And Professor Storr, without any regard to this question, has shewn that the Arabic versions have been very frequently interpolated from marginal notes.

b. That Italia, Acts xviii, 2. in contradistinction to Attalia, is translated ايطالية الفرنجية the Frankish, or European Italy: whereas it is known that the epithet Frankish was not applied to Europe till after the Crusades.

Answer. This argument is of no force, because the epithet might as easily proceed from a modern interpolator, as from an ancient translator. Or rather, it is certain that it came not from the Arabic translator, not only because it would imply a knowledge of history, to make an opposition to the kingdom of Attalus, but because no native Arab would have expressed himself in that manner, the article ال being necessary to both nouns, if they are to be rendered 'the Frankish Italy'. Some commentators

<sup>4</sup> See the Arabic Grammar, § 67. n. 1.

tor had written opposite to *الترنكية* in the margin *أبطالبة* 'the country of the Franks,' which a later copyist inserted in the text.

c. That the Greek  $\chi$  is very frequently expressed by *ش* Sh, for instance Tythicus for Tychicus. This argument I omitted in the two first editions, being unable to discover its application, for we are totally ignorant in what age the Arabs began to use *ج* for  $\chi$ . And I have since found in my late father's copy, a remark which he himself had written as an objection to this argument, that this practice is observable in other Arabic versions, even in that published by Erpenius.

d. That for Berœa, Acts xvii. 10. is used *حلب الغربية* the Western Aleppo. This argument I again omitted for the same reason as before. Aleppo was called by the inhabitants of that country, and is still called by the modern Asiatics *حلب*, *اللب*, but by the Greeks *Berœia*. An ancient translator therefore might, as easily as a modern, have been guilty of the impropriety of giving the name of Aleppo to Berœa in Macedonia, and have added the epithet 'Western' as a mark of distinction. The matter therefore still remains in doubt.

Gabriel Sionita has taken very unnecessary pains in correcting what appeared to him to be bad Arabic in this version, before it was printed in the Paris edition. A translation of this kind is recommended not by modern ornaments, but by its genuine antiquity.

3. The Arabic version printed in the Paris Polyglot, was reprinted in the London Polyglot<sup>5</sup>.

From this edition Mill has given several extracts of the various readings, which he took, as he himself confesses<sup>6</sup>, from the Latin after-version. He justly esteemed it to be an immediate version from the Greek text, and not an offspring of the Syriac<sup>7</sup>. The fact is certain both in respect to the Gospels<sup>8</sup>, as mentioned above in speaking of the Roman edition, and also the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles<sup>7</sup>. For instance, Ephes. iii. 8. the translator has expressed even the Greek comparative

<sup>5</sup> Prolegomena, § 1296.

<sup>6</sup> Prolegomena, 1296, 1297.

parative of a superlative *ελαχιστοτερος* by *لحقّر ادنبا* i. e. 'the most unworthy of the lowest,' and whoever will take the trouble to compare any single chapter with the Greek text, will be immediately convinced. The version of the epistles can lay no claim to high antiquity, but it was written in an age, in which the Arabic was become the current language of many Christian countries in the East, and Christian Arabic writers had adopted Greek expressions: we find *επισκοπος*, for instance, converted into *استق*.

4. Erpenius published the Arabic New Testament at Leyden in 1616, from a manuscript written in the upper Egypt in the year 1342<sup>8</sup>; which manuscript he accurately copied, even where there appeared to be grammatical errors. This is therefore the most faithful and genuine edition of the Arabic version<sup>9</sup>; but as the editor has annexed no Latin translation, quotations are seldom made from it, except that in the Acts of the Apostles Mill has taken his readings from this edition, and not from the Polyglots<sup>10</sup>.

In treating of this edition, it will be necessary to make a distinction between the version of the Gospels, and that of the other books of the New Testament.

The versions of the Gospels in the above-mentioned editions is one and the same, though the editions themselves differ from each other. This question, on which the learned had been much divided, seems to have been reduced by Storr to a certainty<sup>11</sup>. It cannot be denied, that these editions vary sometimes in cases, which relate to important readings of the Greek text, that of Erpenius occupying a middle rank between the Roman and the Polyglot, and approaching sometimes to the readings of the former, at other times more nearly resembling the latter: but the general coincidence is too great to admit the supposition of their being distinct translations. Storr has made it appear extremely probable, that different copies of this version have been altered in different places from the Syriac, others from the Coptic, others again from marginal notes. Those  
readers,



readers, who would further prosecute this enquiry, should have recourse to his dissertations. As these editions then differ sometimes materially from each other, it is very insufficient to quote the Arabic translation, as evidence for a reading, under the simple title of Arabs: particular notice should always be taken, whether the reading alleged be peculiar to one, or common to them all, and the quotation should be made under the name of Arabs Rom. Arabs Pol. or Arabs Erp. This request may appear new and extraordinary, and the thought has never occurred either to Mill, Bengel, or Wetstein: but no one, who has read the remarks on the single passage, John v. 2. in the twelfth volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* will maintain, that the usual mode is consistent with reason and truth<sup>12</sup>.

In that manuscript of this interpolated version of the Gospels, from which Erpenius published his edition, was an Arabic subscription, which I am unable to communicate in the original, because Erpenius has not printed it with the text, but has given only a Latin translation of it, which he has inserted in the preface. *Absoluta est hujus libri descriptio die 16 mensis Baunæ\*, anni 988 martyrum justorum<sup>b</sup>. Descriptus autem est ex emendatissimo exemplari, cujus descriptor ait, se id descripsisse ex alio exemplari emendato exarato manu Johannis Episcopi Cophtitæ, qui Johannes dicit se suum descripsisse ex exemplari emendatissimo, quod edidit D. Nesjulamam F. Azalkefati.*

As far as I understand from this translation of Erpenius, Nejulamam (for so it ought to be written in English, as best corresponding to the Arabic pronunciation) was not the translator but only a new editor<sup>13</sup> of a more ancient version, the copies of which he probably compared, and selected those readings, which appeared to

\* That is, 16 June.

<sup>b</sup> That is, in the year of Christ, 1271. according to the estimate of Bengel in his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T. tuenda*, § vi. n. 6. The year of the Martyrs is originally an Egyptian Era, and is probably that year of the Diocletian persecution, in which the dreadful massacre happened at Esne in the Upper Egypt. See the 211<sup>th</sup> note to *Abulfedæ Egyptus*.

to him the most authentic. We should be able to form a much better judgement of the version, if we could procure accounts of Nejulamam, and especially in what century he lived. He appears to have been by birth a Copt, and either to have altered the Arabic text according to the Coptic version, or to have preferred the readings which most resembled those of the Coptic. If my readers will take the trouble to refer to what I have written on John v. 2. in the twelfth volume of the Orient. Bibl. N° 187. they will see how unfortunate the ancient editor was in the choice of his readings in this passage, having here confounded them in a very extraordinary manner, through want of knowledge of the Hebrew. They will likewise perceive, 1. that the Arabic version was made immediately from the Greek, for in two editions the words *προβατικη κολυμβηθρα* are retained and written in Arabic *Abrubathiki kolimbithra*<sup>14</sup>; in the third they are translated, 'sheep pond.' 2. That it is interpolated in many places from the Syriac. 3. In other places from marginal notes. 4. That the readings of different preceding copies have been confounded in those which were written in later times.

In a work then disfigured in this manner by interpolations, no argument can be brought against its antiquity from the circumstance of its containing in several places single modern words, which may be ascribed as easily to a modern copyist, as to the ancient translator. For instance *παρασκευη*, Friday, which is called in ancient Arabic *عروبة*, is translated Matth. xxvii. 62. by *يوم الجمعة* the day of Assembly, a word consecrated in Muhammedan Arabic to the service of religion. Now could it be shewn that the latter was not in use among the Arabs before the time of Muhammed, as the name of Friday, and that the former, which signifies the evening (namely, that preceding the sabbath) was not borrowed from the Jews, two positions which it would be difficult to prove, yet the ancient translator might have written *عروبة* and a later copyist have changed it into *يوم الجمعة* as word in more general use<sup>15</sup>.

The version of the Epistles, which Erpenius published, he supposed to have been taken immediately from the Syriac. I have carefully collated the Acts of the Apostles with the Syriac text, and have found it undeniably true, that most chapters were translated from that version<sup>16</sup>. Even the paraphrases of the Syriac version are retained in the Arabic, and mistakes committed, which could not have happened in a translation from the Greek. But some few chapters, for instance, the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, appear to have been translated from the Coptic, for which I can account in no other manner, than by supposing that the copy of some transcriber was defective in these chapters, and that he filled up the deficiency by inserting them from an Arabic version, which had been made from the Coptic. In the *Curæ in Actus Apost. Syr.* § 3—6. the reader will find a more particular description. With respect to the book of Revelation, my father has shewn, in the 29<sup>th</sup> section of his above-mentioned treatise, that it was most probably taken from the Coptic, which I have confirmed by several examples in the 53<sup>d</sup> sect. of the *Curæ*, where I have remarked at the same time, that several verses are undoubtedly translations of the Syriac. The Arabic version therefore of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation, has no uniform character, being a compound of different translations; and whoever makes use of it in a critical sense, must not confine himself to single passages, but examine whole chapters, in order to discover whether they were translated from the Syriac, or the Coptic. In the Epistles I have observed fewer deviations from the Syriac, yet we meet even here with several examples, for instance *αἱ ἑσχατα*, 1 Pet. v. 3. is translated in the Syriac by *ܥܕܬܐ*, 'a herd,' but in this Arabic version by *الرعية*, a word which properly signifies monks, though it may be used for the clergy in general<sup>17</sup>. But I own that I have not examined the Epistles with the same attention, as the Acts of the Apostles. If some man of learning, who has access to manuscripts, would compare this version with the Syriac-Arabic, and the Coptic-Arabic New Testa-

Testament, he would be able to throw light on a subject that is at present obscure.

No complete extracts have been made from it, and the few which we have, are in general intermixed with extracts from the Arabic of the Polyglots. What I have selected from the Acts of the Apostles, may be seen in the seventh section of the *Curæ*.

5. The Roman Congregation de propaganda fide, published in 1671 an Arabic and Latin Bible, under the inspection of Sergius Rissus, Bishop of Damascus. But it is of no use either to a critic, or an expositor of the New Testament, having been altered from the Latin version. See Simon, p. 215—219. and more especially Clement Bibliothéque Curieuse, Tom. III. p. 425—431. in which this edition is described at length.

6. The English society for promoting Christian knowledge, published in the year 1727 a very neat Arabic New Testament, for the use of the Christians in Asia. This edition is very scarce, for though 10,000 copies were printed, none were sold in Europe, but only a few were sent as presents to some of the learned<sup>1</sup>. The text is taken from the Polyglots, but the editor, Salomon Negri, by order of the Society, altered it in those passages which vary from the reading of our present Greek text<sup>1</sup>; and therefore however useful for the edification of Oriental Christians, it cannot be applied to any critical

<sup>1</sup> Professor Storr has expressed a wish, that my late father had produced more instances, in which the Arabic text had been altered by Salomon Negri. Now I could add several examples of this kind, but the following will be sufficient. In this edition the text of John v. 2. is,

وكان ببروسليم عند (سوق) راضان بركة التي تسمى  
بالعبيرانية بيتكسدا, et erat in Jerusalem apud (viam) ovium piscina, quæ nominabatur Hebraice Bethesda. This Arabic text differs from the Roman, the Polyglot, and the Erpenian, and is a manifest alteration of Salomon Negri, whose merits in other respects, especially in the promotion of Arabic literature in Germany, are immortal. He has even altered the mode of expression, so as to render the language more fluent; he has also explained *ωφθαλμο*, not as signifying porta ovium, but via ovium,

critical purpose. The editor has even taken the liberty to insert 1 John v. 7. without cautioning the reader that it was not taken from any manuscript. To prevent others from falling into the same mistake with myself, I will relate a circumstance respecting this edition. I received as a present from Petersburg an Arabic New Testament, lettered on the back Nov. Test. Arabicum Petropol. Not being in possession of that published in London, I supposed that this was a separate edition, and had actually begun to examine the reasons why the text of this edition varied from the others, till the date excited my attention, and afterwards fully convinced me that it was no other than the London edition; and I have been since informed by Büfching, that numerous copies were sent to Petersburg, in order to be distributed from Russia among the neighbouring Muhammedans.

Beside those above-mentioned, an Arabic Bible is said to have been printed at Bukarest in 1700<sup>k</sup>, and the Gospels at Aleppo in 1706. But I have no knowledge of these editions, except what is said of them in *Le Long Bibl. Sacra*<sup>19</sup>, Tom. I. p. 125, 126. and in *Helladii status præsens Eccles. Græcæ*, p. 17. I should think myself much obliged to any person, who wishes to promote the study of biblical criticism, for information on this subject, whether they were published from manuscripts, and whether the editor has altered the text, or faithfully abided by the original. It appears from the preceding catalogue, that we have hitherto no such edition of the Arabic New Testament as the critic could wish, and Erpenius seems to be the only editor whose fidelity can be commended. Single books of the New Testament, published in Arabic, I pass over at present by design<sup>20</sup>.

The extracts which have been given by Mill, Bengel,  
and

<sup>k</sup> Professor Aurivillius published at Upsal, in 1776, a Dissertation, in which he describes a fragment of an Arabic Bible in his possession, which he supposes to belong to this edition, though his fragment has a different date. If his conjecture be grounded, the edition of Bukarest is of no critical use, being merely a reimpression of the edition published by the Roman Propaganda, mentioned No 5.

and Wettstein, are too uncertain to be entitled to any confidence. They are not only imperfect, but frequently false, and are quoted in so indiscriminate a manner, as to be almost useless<sup>21</sup>. Wettstein deserves to be commended for acknowledging this fault in the second volume of his New Testament, p. 454. He says of certain extracts made by Gideon Curcellæus, which go no further than Luke xviii. and were sent to him too late for publication, *nec tamen nullam utilitatem ex illis cepissem, si citius fuissent repertæ: ita enim versiones Arabicas Erpenii et Polyglottorum accuratius indicare potuissem, quæ nunc indistincte et promiscue, tanquam si una esset versio citantur*. Professor Bode, in his *Pseudocritica Milliana*, has pointed out, and corrected the mistakes of Mill and Bengel, but has not supplied the deficiency by giving complete extracts himself; and he has sometimes translated the Arabic, by too closely attending to the derivation of the words, in a manner that is inconsistent with the actual usage of the Arabs, which alone can determine in every language. For instance, John v. 2. he has translated *تعرف ببركة الضان* quæ cognoscitur in piscina ovium. In reading this translation, it is natural to conclude that the reading of the Arabic text must be very different from that of the Greek; but an Arab would understand by this expression, which occurs very frequently in the Arabian writers, nothing more than quæ vocatur piscina ovium.

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## SECT. XVII.

### *Of the Ethiopic version.*

**T**HERE is no Oriental version of which we have so imperfect a knowledge as of the Ethiopic, because very few among the learned have applied to this language, and the accounts which they have given of it, even those taken from the Ethiopic prefaces to the Roman edition, are in a high degree erroneous. But this defect

defect has in a great measure been supplied by my father, in his *Tract. de var. lect. N. T.* § 24, 25, 26. 64. and more particularly in his Preface to Bode's *Evangelium sec. Matthæum ex Vers. Æthiopica*. I will give therefore only a short extract from these two Essays<sup>1</sup>.

Chrysostom, in his second Homily on St. John, p. 561<sup>2</sup>. says, that the Ethiopians had in his time a version of the Bible, and as none can be produced, except that already printed, though some have without foundation asserted the contrary, it must be admitted that this version is of great antiquity<sup>3</sup>. From the frequent confusion of words, which sound alike in the Greek, but have not been confounded by any other translator, it follows that this version was taken immediately from the Greek<sup>4</sup>. It agrees frequently in its readings with the Alexandrine manuscript, and as Griesbach has observed in his *Symbolæ*, p. 67. with the quotations of Origen<sup>5</sup>. Neither of these circumstances can appear extraordinary, as it was natural for the inhabitants of Abyssinia to procure their copies of the Greek Testament from Egypt. The translation of the Gospels is much superior to that of the Epistles, where the translator appears to have been very unequal to the task.

This version was first published at Rome in 1548 and 1549. The editors<sup>6</sup> had a very imperfect manuscript of the Acts, of which they supplied the chasms from the Vulgate<sup>7</sup>: the version therefore of this book is of less value in determining the readings of the New Testament. Walton reprinted this Roman edition in the London Polyglot, but his copy being in some places illegible, the editors filled up the deficiencies according to their own judgement, so that the Roman edition retains the same worth, as if no other was extant. The Latin translation was made by Dudley Loftus, and corrected by Castell, but it is of little value, and has led Mill and other collectors of Various Readings into error<sup>8</sup>.

As we have no edition of the Ethiopic version, that is the result of a careful collation of various manuscripts,

we

we must never suspect the authenticity of a word in the Greek text, because it is wanting in the Ethiopic. Mill was guilty of this mistake, § 1213—1218. of his *Prolegomena*, alleging among other instances *αι επιζουσαι επι τον Θεον*, 1 Pet. iii. 5: and *και χαριν τινος εσφαξεν αυτον*, 1 John iii. 12. which he believes to be spurious, because not contained in the Ethiopic version; when, in fact, as often as its evidence is single, it is scarce worthy of attention<sup>9</sup>.

The public is much obliged to Professor Bode for his critical assistance in collating the Ethiopic Gospel of St. Matthew with the Greek text. The title of his book is, *Evangelium sec. Matthæum ex versione Æthiopici interpretis in bibliis polygl. Anglicanis editum, cum Græco ipsius fonte studiose contulit, atque plurimis tam exegeticis quam philologicis observationibus textum partim, partim versionem illustravit auctor Christoph. Aug. Bode*<sup>10</sup>. A second service which he has rendered the public, is his *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*<sup>11</sup>, but it is rather a correction of errors, than a new collation. The deficiency has been in some measure supplied by my father in his copy of Mill's New Testament, in the margin of which he has written many quotations from the Ethiopic. These have never been published, and if the learned should enquire for this copy after my decease, they will find it in the library of the Orphan-House in Halle.

But the best extracts from the Ethiopic version are and must be uncertain, because we have no accurate impression of the version itself. It is not a little extraordinary that Abyssinia, where the Christian religion was so early propagated, should be one of those countries, of which we have the least knowledge: Lewis XIV. of France, and Frederick V. of Denmark, sent persons into that country in order to make discoveries; but the Frenchmen were murdered, and Norden the Dane was obliged to retreat. Even the Moravian brethren, who have encompassed sea and land to make proselytes, have not been able to penetrate into Abyssinia. The ill suc-



cess seems to have risen from a want of geographical knowledge, which travellers might find in the remark on Abulfeda; and if, instead of following the course of the Nile by the way of Assévan, they had taken another more usual route, which is frequented every year, their attempts might have been crowned with success. Till some future travellers shall bring us from Abyssinia authentic manuscripts of the Ethiopic version<sup>a</sup>, we must be contented with selecting the best from accounts, that are unavoidably defective.

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## S E C T. XVIII.

### *Of the age of the Armenian version.*

**W**E have an ancient Armenian version of the New Testament, but as I am unacquainted with the language, I must take my accounts from other writers, and principally Simon Hist. des Vers. ch. 17. Mill's Prolegomena, § 1402—1404. Schröder's Dissert. de antiquitate et fatis linguæ Armenicæ, printed in his Thesaurus linguæ Armenicæ, which was published at Amsterdam in 1711, Le Long Bibl. sacra, Tom. I. p. 136. et seq. from the preface to the Historia Mosis Chorenensis, published by the two Whistons<sup>1</sup>, the History itself, and lastly from the Thesaurus epistolicus la Crozianus, which admirable book I have found of so much service, that I could wish my readers would refer to the work itself. In Winkler's Cimelia Æthiopica bibliothecæ Berolinensis, in the 42<sup>a</sup>. and following pages are given extracts from an Ethiopic manuscript, entitled Lucta et martyrium S. Gregorii Patriarchæ in Armenia, which relate chiefly to the Armenian version, ascribe it to Gregory as the author, and refer it to the age of Constantine the Great. But it will appear, from much more authentic documents, that these Ethiopian accounts are fabulous. A description of the printed editions is given in the Halische Bibliothek<sup>a</sup>, Vol. III. p. 189—194. Bode has likewise

likewise treated of this version in the preface to his *versio latina primorum iv. capitum Matthæi ex vers. Armena*<sup>3</sup>; but as the historical part of his description is chiefly taken from the first edition of this introduction, I can derive no assistance from it for a second.

The Armenians had in the earliest times no letters peculiar to their own language, much less a translation of the Bible; and whenever they wrote, they were obliged to borrow either from the Persian, the Syrian, or the Greek, (see Schroeder, p. 31. and Moses Choren. cap. liv. p. 299. Simon was of opinion that the service of the Armenian church was performed in Syriac; but it appears from Moses Choren. p. 273. that it was performed in Greek. See also Renaudot *de perpetuo ecclesiæ consensu*, Tom. II. p. 540.) But after the introduction of Christianity into that country, by command of King Tiridates, learning, the usual attendant of that religion, began to flourish in Armenia. Miesrob, either in the fourth or fifth century, invented letters that accurately expressed the sounds of the Armenian language: an invention which, according to the tradition of the country, was revealed to him in a dream, after the author had in vain attempted to make the discovery himself, and taken many useless journies to procure assistance from the learned.

From the unanimous testimony of the Armenian writers, the church of that country is indebted to Miesrob for their translation of the Scriptures. He lived at the end of the fourth, and in the beginning of the fifth century, and is said to have finished his version in the year 410. It is attested by Moses of Chorene, a disciple of Miesrob, who adds, that he began with the Proverbs of Solomon. The words of Moses, in Whiston's translation, p. 299. are as follow: *Mesrobes vero elementa Armeniaca ad normam syllabarum Græcarum disposuit, et statim interpretationi operam dedit: consul- toque a Proverbiorum libro initium capiens totos xxii. sacros libros novumque fœdus in Armeniacum sermo- nem convertit, ipse utique cum discipulis suis Joanne Ecclensi*

**Eccelenfi et Josepho Palnenfi.** This celebrated historian was himself an assistant in the work, though in mentioning the others he has omitted his own name: for Schroeder observes, that he apologizes in a letter for the shortness of his history, by pleading that his time was engaged in the translation of the Bible. He imagines that **Moses** omitted his own name through modesty; but this is undoubtedly a mistake, and the true state of the case is as follows: **Moses**, p. 299. speaks of the first version, in which he took no part; but that he assisted in the third version of the Bible, he himself declares, p. 313. He lived in the fifth century<sup>1</sup>, as Whiston has shewn in the *Thesaurus la Crozianus*, Tom. I. p. 352. 361. and Tom. III. p. 281. The internal character, and the readings of the Armenian version, have convinced the critics in that language, and especially **La Croze**, a man of the most profound erudition, that the antiquity ascribed to the Armenian version exceeds not the truth.

The opinions of the learned have been divided, whether it was taken from the Greek original, or the Syriac version. **Simon** is in favour of the latter, from the supposition that the service of the Armenian church had been performed in Syriac; but **La Croze**, in a letter which **Beaufobre** and **l'Enfant** have inserted in the Preface to their New Testament, p. 211<sup>4</sup>, very properly objects, that he was ignorant of Armenian, and therefore not a proper judge of the question. On the other hand, **La Croze** being partial to a language in which he was without a rival, and extolling the Armenian version as superior to every other, may be suspected of partiality, in denying that it was taken from the Syriac. We will therefore set aside these authorities, and examine the arguments them-

<sup>1</sup> He constantly speaks of himself as a scholar and contemporary of **Miesrob**, who sent him to Alexandria, and employed him on other occasions. I mention this, because **la Croze** places **Moses** in the ninth century, and describes him as a soldier by profession. **Whiston** on the contrary contends that there is no circumstance in the life of **Moses**, which can bring him down lower than the middle of the fifth century, not excepting the council of Chalcedon, held in 451.

themselves, from which the point may be determined with greater certainty.

The Armenians pretend that it was taken from the Syriac, and Le Long, in his *Bibl. Sacra* I. 137. quotes the evidence of Coriun, who mentions in the life of Miesrob 'that Miesrob sent Eznie' and Joseph to Edeffa, to translate the holy writings from the Syriac.' But this is not applicable to our question, for 'by the holy writings' is meant not the Bible, but the works of the Syriac fathers, as appears plainly from Moses Chor. p. 311. But the account given by Moses himself, Lib. III. cap. liv. p. 300. is material to the purpose. 'He (Miesrob) returned from Iberia to Armenia, and found the great Isaac (the Patriarch of Armenia) employed in translating from the Syriac, being able to procure no Greek manuscripts. For all the Greek books had been burnt by Meruzan, (a Persian general, and enemy of the Christians, as may be seen, p. 271—273.) and the Persian governors permitted not even the Greeks, who lived in their part of Armenia, to use any other language than the Syriac.' This passage is so plain, that I wonder no one has hitherto quoted it. It is moreover certain that there are readings in the Armenian version, which are found in no manuscript or version, except the Syriac: for instance the addition, Matth. xxviii, 18. As my Father hath sent me, so send I you<sup>6</sup>.

But on the other side of the question there is another passage in Moses Chorenensis, as much overlooked as the former, and which decides the matter in dispute. Lib. III. cap. lxi. p. 313. is the following relation, 'Our translators returned, (from the council at Ephesus) and delivered to Isaac and Miesrob the letters and decrees of this assembly, with a copy of the Bible carefully written, which as soon as Isaac and Miesrob had received, they cheerfully submitted to the task of again translating what they had translated twice before. But as they were deficient in knowledge, and many parts were rendered imperfectly, they sent us to the famous school at Alexandria to learn this excellent language.' Here is a full

and credible account of the care bestowed by the Armenians on their version of the Bible, and that they translated it twice from the Syriac, and a third time from the Greek<sup>7</sup>. It is therefore no wonder that they succeeded in their endeavours, and that the Armenian was superior to other versions, since it only verifies the common remark, 'that he can see the farthest who rests on the shoulders of another.' Hence we may assign the reason why the readings of the Armenian version are so frequently different from the Syriac.

The Armenian version would be an inestimable treasure, had it descended to the present age unaltered by time and superstition. But the churches of the lesser Armenia, or Cilicia, submitted in the thirteenth century to the authority of the Pope; and Haitho, or as he is more properly called Hethom, who reigned from the year 1224 to 1270, became shortly before his death a Franciscan friar. This prince was not only attached to the church of Rome, but likewise acquainted with the Latin language; and publishing a new edition of the Armenian Bible, he altered, or rather corrupted it from the Vulgate. He translated for instance all the prefaces of Jerom; and as the words of 1 John v. 7. were not in the old Armenian manuscripts, he inserted them probably from the Latin: for thirty-seven years after his death this passage was quoted at a Council held at Sis, in Armenia, and is found in other Armenian records. See Galani Confilia, P. I. p. 436. 461. 478, and Thes. Epist. la Crozianus, Tom. III. p. 4. and 69.

It is therefore natural to suspect that Haitho has too closely followed the Vulgate in other instances; and if this be true, the alteration must be general, because the subsequent manuscripts of the Armenian version were taken from the edition of Haitho. Adler asserts it as a fact, though he gives no proof, in his *Museum Cusicum Borgianum*, p. 159, 160. He mentions indeed an Armenian manuscript more ancient than the time of Haitho, written in 1087, and preserved at Rome in the *Bibliotheca Casanatensis*; but this affords no assistance  
in

in regard to the New Testament, as it contains only the five books of Moses. Griesbach on the other hand, p. lxxvii. denies that the Armenian version latinizes, because it very frequently agrees with the quotations of Origen. But, not to mention that the Latin version itself coincides with Origen in many important readings, it cannot be inferred from the coincidence even of a great number of examples, that Haitho made no alterations; and it is not to be supposed that a man, who corrected through motives of piety, would designedly corrupt the whole. The subject therefore requires a new investigation, which no man can attempt, unless with a knowledge of the Armenian he unites the good fortune of having access to the ancient manuscripts, that were written before the time of Haitho.

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## S E C T. XIX.

*Of the printed editions of the Armenian version.*

**T**HE first printed edition of the Armenian version was published in the last century, by Uskan, bishop of Erivan. Simon relates, p. 198. that much confusion had crept into the copies, and that the Bible was at the same time become so scarce in Armenia, that a single copy cost 1200 livres. Hence a council of Armenian bishops, assembled in 1662, ordered the Bible to be printed in Europe. I remember to have read, in the last and complete edition of Chardin's travels, that Uskan intended to have printed it in France, but not being able to obtain permission, he printed at Marseilles the Liturgy alone, and that with considerable alterations. This is one of the passages which the Papiests struck out from Chardin's travels at the publication of the first edition. At length Uskan printed the Bible at Amsterdam, in 1666, and the New Testament separately, in 1668, which was reprinted in 1698. It is a very beautiful edition, but La Croze and G. Whiston have accused

the editor of having corrupted in some places the Armenian text, Thef. la Croz. Tom. I. p. 389. and Præf. ad Mosen Chor. p. 10. This at least is certain, that 1 John v. 7. was not in his manuscript, for Sandius, in his *Interpretationes paradoxæ*, p. 376. declares, that he had seen the manuscript, from which the Amsterdam edition was printed, and that it wanted that verse\*. In like manner John v. 4. is wanting in the Armenian manuscripts, yet it stands in Uscan's edition, and La Croze observes, in his letter to l'Enfant<sup>3</sup>, that Uscan himself acknowledges in his preface, that he had altered some passages from the Vulgate. But La Croze has treated Uscan with candour, and supposed that his mistakes arose not from an intention to deceive, but from ignorance and superstition.

As the Armenian is little understood among the learned, we have only very scanty extracts<sup>4</sup> of the Armenian readings<sup>5</sup>. Those which Mill has inserted, he received

\* As the preface of the two Whistons to *Moses Chorenensis* is accessible perhaps to only a few of my readers, I will quote from it some of the remarkable readings of the Armenian version of the New Testament<sup>5</sup>.

Matth. xix. 17. The Armenian translator has rendered the passage, 'But he spake to him; why askest thou me after that which is good? One is good. But if thou wilt,' &c. See sect. 13. of this chapter.

Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. He uses in both names the word *Barabbas*, saying Jesus *Barabbas*. This is the most ancient reading, but it was rejected by Origen, in his 35<sup>th</sup> Homily, who thought that the name of *Barabbas* ought not to be annexed to that of Jesus. See chap. vi. sect. 12.

Luke xi. 2, 3, 4. he omits the words, 'which art in Heaven,' and also the third petition. In these two omissions he coincides with the Latin Vulgate: and that Uscan made no alteration here appears from the evidence of La Croze, who relates that these passages are omitted in the ancient Armenian manuscript, preserved in the royal library at Berlin.

Acts vi. 9. Several critics have endeavoured to shew, that the reading *Αἰθιοπία* is preferable to that of *Λιβύη*, and Reland, in his remarks on *Josephi Antiquitat.* xvi. -6. has supported the former reading on very plausible grounds. In his time it was only conjecture, but it is now supported by authority, for the Armenian version has the reading

'Libyan.'

received from Louis Picques; but Bengel and Wettstein were indebted to La Croze. A new field therefore lies open to a critic, who would apply to the study of this language<sup>6</sup>.

## S E C T. XX.

*Of the Persic versions.*

WE have two Persic versions of the four Gospels, of which the most ancient, and that which is most valued by the learned, is printed in the London Polyglot, accompanied with a Latin translation<sup>1</sup> by Sam. Clarke, and notes by Thomas Graves<sup>2</sup>. This critic has very justly observed, that the Persic is a translation of the Syriac, for it sometimes retains even Syriac words, and subjoins a Persic interpretation: and in other places confounds the meaning of words, that have a similar sound only in the Syriac. The matter is likewise highly probable in itself, for the Christians, who lived scattered in the Persian empire, made use of Syriac as the language of the church, and as the language of literature; and it was common for the Persians to study in the schools of Syria, especially at Edeffa. The principal use then of the Persic version, is in discovering the false readings that have crept since that period into the Syriac. It might be added, in confirmation of what was said above, that the Persic omits passages, that are wanting in no manuscript or version except the Syriac: for instance Matth. xxvii. 46. Mark vii. 34. Mill and Bengel

<sup>1</sup> Libyan.' But it still remains a question, whether the Armenian translator actually read *λεουσιν*, or only gave that interpretation to *λεβερτιν*, for Wettstein says, non major est inflexio *λεουσιν* in *λεβερτιν*, quam sextarii in *ξικω*, aut spicatæ in *πικω*, aut penulæ in *φελων*. The evidence therefore of the Armenian version is in this case dubious, and I can see no reason for departing here from the common text.

<sup>2</sup> John v. 7. is not contained in the ancient Armenian manuscripts.



gel have taken their extracts from this version for their collections of various readings.

There is another Persian version of the Gospels, which Abraham Wheloc began to print in 1652, and after his death Pierfon finished in 1657. It was published in London, and three manuscripts<sup>3</sup> were used by the editors. It is thought to be much more modern than the other, and I find in Le Long's *Bibl. sacra*, that Wheloc supposed it an immediate translation from the Greek<sup>4</sup>, but Renaudot believed it to have been taken from the Syriac.

Renaudot likewise observes, that the other manuscripts materially differ from these two versions, and that the Persians in their public worship make use of a different version, which was probably the most ancient, and should it ever be made public, would be of more value than the other two united<sup>5</sup>.

To correct mistakes, that are made in the extracts of Mill, recourse must be made to Bode's *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*.

## S E C T. XXI.

*The Latin version is the source of almost all European versions.*

WE now turn from Asia and Africa to Europe. Of all the European versions, none is so ancient as the Latin, which may be regarded almost as the common parent of all the Western translations. For though many of these were taken from the original Greek, yet the translators either had recourse to the Vulgate for assistance, or they were so accustomed from their youth, if not to the Latin itself, to translations derived from it, that, without the actual design of making innovations, it was impossible to avoid betraying a similarity to the Vulgate: and if it be denied that they were its immediate offspring, it had at least a considerable share in their

their formation. The French, Italian, and Spanish Bibles, that were published before the sixteenth century, and of which Simon has given entertaining accounts in his *Hist. Crit. des Vers.* chap. 28. 40. 41. were taken wholly from the Latin. The same may be said of the old German Bibles, printed in 1462<sup>1</sup>, 1467, and 1483, which I have fully described in the *Syntagma commentationum*, p. 1—22, published in 1759, in which Bibles it is expressly said, that they were corrected with great care and diligence according to the Latin. The common versions of the Papists, which have been made since that time, follow likewise the Vulgate; and though several learned members of that church have attempted more accurate translations in the living languages, they were still accustomed from their youth to the Latin. It is true that Luther translated from the Greek, yet marks of the Vulgate are visible through the whole translation: nor would he have been able to produce so accurate a translation of the Bible, the present sources of critical assistance being at that time totally unknown, unless he had recurred to the aid of the Vulgate, and resolved not to forsake his guide, but where it led into open error. In support of this assertion, I appeal not only to the many instances of accurate translation, and few of false interpretation, that are common to Luther and the Vulgate, but also to those errors in Luther's version, which cannot be derived from the original Greek. For instance *πισκεπτομαι* is rendered 'to visit,' because he found *visito* in the Latin. It by no means derogates from the character of the great Luther, that he adhered to this very ancient version; and perhaps the success of his translation, at a time, when the Oriental languages were little known, and few commentaries existed of any value, may be ascribed to the assistance, which he derived from the Vulgate, where, though he has corrected mistakes, he has never altered without necessity.

The translation of Luther has had material influence  
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<sup>1</sup> With respect to this date, see *Clement Bibliothecae curieuse*, Tom. III. p. 320—323. n. 39, 40.

on those, which were made by his followers in the Reformation, not excepting even the English, where examples might be produced of Germanisms, that to every Englishman must appear obscure'. And it will be needless to prove at large, that most of the translators of the Bible in the two last centuries, have been accustomed to the Latin, or to versions immediately derived from it.

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## S E C T. XXII.

### *Of the Latin version in general.*

**T**O avoid confusion in treating of the Latin version, we must distinguish what existed before the age of Jerom, from the edition, which was corrected and published by the learned father, and is generally known under the name of the Vulgate. The Vulgate must be again examined in three different points of view : first, as it was published by Jerom ; 2dly. as corrupted in later ages, partly by mistakes of transcribers, partly by interpolations from more ancient Latin versions ; 3dly. as corrected in the sixteenth century by Papal authority, and introduced into the church of Rome.

Of the ancient versions before the time of Jerom, a full account may be seen in Simon Hist. Crit. des Vers. ch. 3, 4, 5, 6. in Martianay's Prolegomena to the Gospel of St. Matthew, which he published according to the old version, in Mill, § 377—605. ; and in Mosheim's Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantium Magnum, p. 225—229. This last treatise deserves especially to be read, because the author has freed the history of this version from several mistakes, that were generally committed, and from which I was not exempt in the first edition of this work. It will be observed in the sequel, that this ancient version is annexed to the Greek text in the Cod. Boernerianus, Claromontanus, and Cantabrigienis. Beside these, several other copies are extant ; among which may be reckoned those

those mentioned in Uffenbach's Travels, Vol. III. p. 471—480.; some of these are very extraordinary, especially that in the possession of Aymon.

We had formerly, and indeed so late as the first part of the present century, some fragments of this version in print, but few whole books of the New Testament, namely the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle of St. James, which Martianay printed in 1695, from two very ancient manuscripts. To these was added, in 1715, the Acts of the Apostles, which Hearne published at Oxford from the Cod. Laudianus 3. a very excellent work, but extremely scarce, on account of the few impressions that were taken: we are therefore much indebted to professor Hwüd for having reprinted the Latin text, in his *Libellus criticus de indole codicis N. T. bibliothecæ Cæsareo-Vindobonensis Lambecii xxxiv. accessit textus Latinus Antehieronimianus e codice Laudiano.*

The want of a printed edition is the reason that so many of the learned have made mistakes in speaking of this version, and falsely understood the clearest passages of the fathers, that allude to it. But Pope Benedict XIV. who was highly valued by the Protestant, as well as by the Roman church, has acquired immortal honour in the Republic of Letters, for having ordered to be published, in 1749, a magnificent edition, taken from five (properly only four genuine) manuscripts<sup>a</sup> of this version. The title of this work, which consists of four<sup>a</sup> volumes in folio, including the Prolegomena and the treatises annexed to it, is, *Evangeliarum quadruplex Latinæ versionis antiquæ, seu Italicæ, nunc primum in lucem editum ex codicibus manuscriptis aureis, argenteis, purpureis, aliisque, plusquam millennariæ ætatis sub auspiciis Joannis V. regis fidelissimi Lusitanæ, a Joanne Blanchino.*

<sup>a</sup> The names of these manuscripts are Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbejensis, Brixianus, and Forojulienis<sup>a</sup>: but this last contains only the corrected version of Jerom, and ought therefore not to have been printed with the others. Dobrowsky has shewn this very clearly in his *Fragmentum Pragensis evangelii Marci. Pragæ 1788.*

Blanchino. The beauty and largeness of the types, the great number of learned treatises, and the copper plate with which it is ornamented, make the work so very expensive, that it is seldom to be found in private libraries, though it ought to be in general use: an editor therefore would deserve the thanks of the public, who would publish in a less sumptuous manner the Latin text of the four manuscripts, (for that of the Forojulienſis is unnecessary) and omit the dissertations, by which means the work would be reduced to a moderate quarto. While Blanchini was engaged in preparing it for the press, P. Sabatier published in 1743 his *Biblia Latina versionis antiquæ, seu vetus Italica*, of which the third volume contains the New Testament. But Sabatier took not his text from manuscripts of the Latin version only, but from the *Codices Græco-Latini*, or Greek-Latin manuscripts: for instance, the Acts of the Apostles from the above-mentioned Cod. Laudianus 3. published by Hearne. Here we may naturally inquire, whether these Latin versions were in general and public use, or whether they are not to be ascribed to the private industry of different transcribers, who copying the Greek Testament, subjoined a Latin translation correspondent to the Greek text of their respective manuscripts. After reading Hearne's edition of the Acts of the Apostles, we might be inclined to suppose the latter: but their coincidence with the quotations of the Latin fathers shews, that these very translations of the Greek text, as it stood in the most ancient manuscripts, were in general use in an age, that precedes the date of any manuscript now extant. As the Greek-Latin manuscripts have chasms, Sabatier has supplied them, though this is very unsatisfactory, from the Vulgate, and sometimes added in the notes quotations from the Latin fathers. For instance Acts xxvii. 5—14. 18—23. 29. xxviii. 20. are wanting, which is the more disagreeable, because they contain passages, where the critic is in need of information, whether the reading of the old version, chap. xxvii. 14. was *Ευροκλυδων*, or, like that of the later version,

version, Ευρακυλων<sup>3</sup>, and chap. xxviii. 1. Melita, or Meslitene. Whoever could supply these chasms, from manuscripts of the old version, or more properly versions, and still more, whoever would continue the work of Blanchini, and publish the Acts and the Epistles, would greatly promote the critical knowledge of the New Testament<sup>4</sup>.

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### S E C T. XXIII.

*Of the great number of ancient Latin versions, among which the Itala is no longer distinguishable. One of these was termed Vulgate.*

It appears from the testimony of Augustin, that the Latin church had a very great number of translations of the Bible, that they were made at the first introduction of Christianity, but that the authors are totally unknown. His mode of expression in regard to this subject is rather hyperbolical, ‘ Qui Scripturas ex Hebræâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuivis primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.’ August. de doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 11. This passage has given rise to various disputes, and many have even ventured to deny a plurality of Latin versions, but a careful perusal of the manuscripts published by Blanchini is sufficient to confute this opinion, and to shew that there is no necessity for doing violence to the words of Augustin. It is true that the versions are not absolutely distinct, as appears from their frequent coincidence, but they are compositions that have resulted from combining more ancient and separate translations, which have been interwoven with each other, by selecting those parts, which either deserved the preference, or most easily occurred to the writer. In the margin of one manuscript was  
written,

written, perhaps in many places, the text of another, which a future transcriber inserted in his copy, or when passages, or leaves were wanting in one, they were supplied by extracts from another. Having collated the Gospel of St. Mark, in the Syriac version, with the *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, I found the Latin versions in general divided, some being in favour of the reading for which I consulted them, while others were against it, a circumstance which clearly proves them to be the result of different translations. In short, they are exactly of such a nature, as might be expected from versions that arose in the manner above described, and of which Jerom says, *si latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant, quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria pœne, quot codices.*

In reading the Latin text of the Greek-Latin manuscripts, such as the Cod. Cantabrigiensis, Laudianus 3. Boernerianus, &c. the thought naturally occurs, that the difference is in a great measure to be ascribed, if not to completely new translations, at least to the Latin having been altered from the Greek in each respective manuscript; for the notion that the Greek has been altered from the Latin, if we except a very few instances, is erroneous<sup>1</sup>.

Some of these Latin versions were probably written later than the first ages of Christianity<sup>2</sup>. Rom. xii. 13. is *χρησας των αγιων*: but instead of *χρησας*, three Codd. Græco-Latini have *μνησας*, and though the old Latin version published by Sabatier has *necessitatibus*, yet it appears from his note that others had *memoriis*. This fault (for a fault it evidently is) could hardly have taken place before the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century, for it conveys the language and sentiments of a later age, *αγιοι* being used, not in the sense of the New Testament, where it is applied to the primitive Christians in general, but in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, saints, or martyrs, characters unknown at Rome, when St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans.

Of these various translations, there was one in particular, that in the writings of Augustin is styled *Itala*, a very celebrated name, but a name that has been so abused, that not only all the Latin versions, that existed before the time of Jerom, have been taken for one and the same, but the very individual version, that is meant by Augustin. I was led into the same error at the first publication of this work, but the words of Augustin, who alone of all the writers of antiquity mentions the *Itala* by name, '*in ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala*' *cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ,*' clearly shew that it was only one out of many translations, and that there is no ground for giving this title to every Latin version, that existed before Jerom's edition of the Vulgate. If it be asked, to which of the old versions the name of *Itala* must be ascribed? I answer, that we are totally unable to determine; for though Augustin has highly commended it, he has not given a single extract, which might serve to distinguish it from the rest. Yet it appears to have been generally known in that age, and to have differed materially from the version, that was used by the church of Africa, the country of Augustin, from whom it probably received the name of *Itala*, to distinguish it from the latter. But we cannot infer from this title, that it was in use at Rome, and Mosheim very justly observes, that in this case it would rather have acquired the more suitable, and honourable appellation of *Romana*. To Mosheim we are indebted for the correction of the above-mentioned error, which before his time was universal, and is visible even in the title-page of the editions of Martianay, Sabatier, and Blanchini.

Jerom makes mention of a Vulgate, which was probably the Latin version in use at that time in Rome, and which itself was, in a greater or less degree, a composition like the others.





## S E C T. XXIV.

*Of the general style of these versions, and conjectures in regard to their authors.*

**T**HE style of these ancient versions, which is still visible in the Vulgate, though amended by Jerom, is not only devoid of classic elegance, but inaccurate and impure, though Gesner has quoted from it several examples in his *Thesaurus*. We find not seldom absolutely false Latin, and such, as no native Roman could have written, of which the following examples are taken from Martianay's edition of St. Matthew, ch. ii. 16. tunc Herodes videns quoniam (for quod) illusus esset a Magis. ii. 18. noluit consolari, which is used as if it were a passive. iii. 15. dimisit ipsum, for permisit ipsi. vi. 16. exterminant facies suas. vi. 19. ubi ærugo et tineæ exterminat. xiii. 6. ederunt (for ediderunt, unless we ascribe this error to a copyist) fructum. xiv. 1. benedixit eos. Mistakes of this nature, as well as a too servile attention to the idiom of the Greek, betray a translator, who was neither a native Italian, nor had learned the language by the rules of grammar<sup>1</sup>.

At other times we find expressions, that have the appearance of being improper, and yet may be justified by the usage of the Latin language. For instance Matth. v. 32. dimissam adulterat. v. 43. odies inimicum. vi. 4 in absconso. vi. 6. vii. 9. 11. petere aliquem, in the sense of 'to request any one.' vii. 9. alio, as a dative. vii. 19. unus scriba, where unus resembles a modern indeterminate article, and in the same manner ix. 18. princeps unus. xi. 7. lamentavimus. xiii. 15. cluserunt oculos. xiv. 22. iussit discipulis suis. xviii. 24. decem millia talenta. These are remnants of the Latin, as spoken by the illiterate, especially in the Provinces<sup>2</sup>. Every language abounds with phrases in common life, which a classic writer endeavours to avoid: the most accurate are exposed indeed to the danger of sometimes inadvertently

tently admitting them, even where the seriousness of the subject requires a dignity of language; but if they occur too often, and are even ungrammatical and vulgar, they betray either an author without education, or a foreigner, who had learnt the language by rote, in the company of the illiterate.

To those above enumerated may be added certain words, which are used in a sense that is very rare in the classic writers. *Opinio* is used in the sense of 'report,' Matth. iii. 24. xiv. 1. xxiv. 6. *Salmacidus*, a word quoted by Cicero from *Ennius*<sup>3</sup>, is found James iii. 11. *Orto sole æstuarunt*, Matth. xiii. 6. where *æstuo* is used in the same poetical sense, as it is applied by Virgil.

*Cumque exustus ager morientibus æstuat herbis*. Expressions of this kind are very numerous, and they discover either the native of a province, who is unable to disengage himself of his provincialisms, or a foreigner who could form no judgement of the propriety of language, but in writing serious prose adopted either the phrases of common life, or such as he could recollect from the poets<sup>4</sup>.

But the Latin of these versions is not therefore to be treated with contempt, for though no scholar would attempt to imitate their style, he may learn by their means the language in a greater extent. For it is certain that no man can know more than the half of a language, nor have an adequate notion of its etymology, who is acquainted only with the small portion, that is preserved in elegantly written books. Those phrases of common life, which are used by men of liberal education at furthest in epistolary correspondence, and even the expressions of the illiterate, are not unworthy the notice of Philology. We are indebted to the Latin comedies for many terms in the mouths of vulgar characters, which no serious writer could use, when speaking in his own person. If these are received with pleasure by every critic, as augmenting his treasure of Latin words, no cause can be assigned for treating the Vulgate with contempt, which for the above-mentioned reason I would prefer to the

Bible of Castellio. I have frequently conversed on this subject with the celebrated Gesner, who used to say that the Vulgate was to him an auctor classicus, not because he could learn from it to write elegant Latin, but because it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its whole extent. The genuine original meaning of sacramentum and cælicolæ may be learnt from these ancient versions.

Lastly, they contain very numerous Hebraisms, or rather Syriasm, that are diametrically opposite to the genius of the Latin. These surpass all that is observable of this kind in the Greek Testament, not excepting the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. We cannot therefore account for them as imitations of the original, and we are naturally led to suppose that some of these versions were made by Jewish converts, whose native language was the Syriac. In the Curæ in Actus Apost. Syriacos, p. 168—173. I took notice of several examples, in which traces may be discovered of the Syriac edition<sup>s</sup>. Ridley, who from the hint which I had given, prosecuted the inquiry still further, collected in the 9<sup>th</sup> sect. of his Dissertatio de versionibus Syriacis still more examples, among which that of Rom. ix. 25. is so remarkable, though it appears to be doubtful, that I will subjoin it in a note with the author's own words<sup>n</sup>. Those, who

<sup>n</sup> Ad eundem modum Rom. ix. 25. legimus in textu *καλέω τον ου-  
 λον μου, λαον μου: και την ουκ ηγαπημενην, ηγαπημενην*. Nullus hic dubitandi  
 locus. Vertit tamen latinus, *vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam: et  
 non dilectam, dilectam: et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam con-  
 secutam*. Nullius codicis fretus auctoritate unum in duo membra videtur  
 resolvere: sed non est nisi ambiguae vocis, cujus significationem non  
 tenebat interpres, in utrumque sensum explicatio. Syrus enim transtulit  
*אֲבֹרָא; אֲבֹרָא; אֲבֹרָא*. Prius vero, quam appingerentur vocales, du-  
 bium esset, an sit *non dilectam, dilectam* cum Græco, an, *non misericordiam  
 consecutam, misericordiam consecutam*, cum Hebræo. Latinus igitur in  
 utrumque sensum vocem, non Græcam, sed Syriacam, interpretatus est.  
 But this example, though very plausible, leads to no absolute certainty,  
 because *ουκ ηγαπημενην* is the reading of the Septuagint, Hof. i. 6. ii. 23. from  
 which the Latin reading 'non misericordiam consecutam' might have  
 been taken.

who officiated as teachers in the Christian communities during the first century, were chiefly Jewish converts, for being instructed from their youth in the knowledge of the Old Testament, they were better qualified to explain the New, than one born and educated in idolatry. And it is not improbable that these very persons applied themselves to translating, that each community might possess the New Testament in its native language<sup>6</sup>.

In the Greek-Latin manuscripts the translators have sometimes grossly offended against the rules of the Latin grammar, and they seem to have been led into error by a too servile adherence to the idiom of the Greek, being probably better masters of the latter than of the former.

The language of these versions has had material influence on the Latin of the church, which is not only unclassical, but has a tincture of the Oriental idiom, though in a much lower degree than the versions themselves.

S E C T. XXV.

*Further remarks in respect to the origin, antiquity, and authors of the old Latin versions.*

**I** HAVE observed in the preceding section, that the oldest Latin versions appear to have been made by native Jews, and therefore written in the first century. This conclusion is confirmed by the testimony of Augustin, who refers them to the earliest ages of Christianity, and the premises receive additional probability from the circumstance, that Oriental proper names are sometimes written in the Latin Testament not according to the Greek, but the Syriac orthography; for instance, Καπερναυμ is written Caphernaum, with ph, as in Syriac כפרנחום, the village of Nahum, and Ισκαριωτης, Scarioth, as it is in Syriac ܟܫܪܝܘܬܐ. A knowledge of these orthographical minutiae in Oriental names, added to the badness of the Latin, is an evident proof that the author was not a native of Italy<sup>1</sup>.

The reason, which induced Mill to refer the origin of the oldest Latin version no higher than to the time of Pope Pius, in the middle of the second century, that the Christians in Rome during the first century, who came from Egypt, Judæa, and other countries, were acquainted with Greek, and therefore not in need of a translation, is hardly of any weight. For it presupposes without proof, that the version was first made for the use of the Christian community in Rome, whereas it is certain that the greatest part were written for the use of the provincial towns in Italy<sup>2</sup>. Nor must we forget that many members of the Christian church were of the lowest class, who were unable to comprehend the New Testament in the original Greek. It seems likewise to be an error in Mill and other critics, when they suppose that the Latin version was made by public authority, or under the direction of the bishop of Rome: for it is inconsistent with the account of Augustin, the only writer from whom we can derive information, who says, *ut cuivis in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari*<sup>3</sup>. Now it is very improbable, if a translator had been appointed by a bishop, or a council, that a writer would have been chosen, who was so little master of the Latin. I am therefore of the same opinion with Ridley, and suppose that the real state of the case was as follows. The New Testament was read in the Christian churches, in the same manner as the Old Testament in the Jewish synagogues; and as the Jews, after reading the original Hebrew, explained it by a Chaldee paraphrase, the Christian bishops, and public teachers expounded the passages in Latin, which they first read in the Greek. In the beginning, this was done *ex tempore*, but by degrees, in order to facilitate the public service, these translations were committed to writing, and at length communicated to the different members. By these means we may account for their great variety, and the confusion, which might have been avoided by a version ordained by the public authority of the Christian church.

## S E C T. XXVI.

*Of the great confusion, into which these versions gradually fell.*

**T**HE confusion, unavoidable in these versions from their very commencement, arose by degrees to such a height, that Jerom, in his preface to the Gospels, complains that no one copy resembled another. To the practice of putting together parts of separate translations, and making in this manner a motley composition, we may likewise add the three following causes.

1. The expressions of one Evangelist were transferred into the writings of another, and by these means the four Gospels converted, as it were, into four Harmonies. Jerom, in the above-mentioned preface, makes the following complaint: *magnus siquidem in his nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt: aut dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille, qui unum e quatuor legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque æstimaverit emendandos. Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucæ et Matthæi, rursum in Matthæo plura Joannis et Marci, et cæteris reliquorum, quæ aliis propria sunt, inveniantur.*

2. Marginal notes, consisting either of expositions, or oral traditions, concerning the history of Christ, were inserted by subsequent transcribers in the text.

3. It was usual, in countries where Latin was spoken, to accompany the Greek manuscripts with a Latin translation, which was written either in a column parallel to the Greek text, or immediately under it. Now it appears from the inspection of these Greek-Latin manuscripts, that the object of transcribers was sometimes to render both texts as nearly alike as possible, and as they were often men of no learning, they were exposed to the danger of altering the Latin improperly. Of this the following is an instance: *ἐκαστοι σκοπωντες*, Phil. ii. 4. being written according to the ancient manner *ΕΚΑΣΤΟΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ*, a copyist unacquainted with the

Greek grammar might falsely divide it into *ἑαυτοὶ κοπιῦντες*, and this was actually done by the writer of the Codex Boernerianus, for he had altered the Latin translation into *singuli laborantes*¹.

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## S E C T. XXVII.

### *Critical use of the Latin version.*

**I**N respect to the value and critical application of the Latin version, or versions, to the discovery of genuine readings in the Greek text, the opinions of the learned have been not only divided, but even diametrically opposite. Some have passed the highest encomiums on the purity of the text in the Greek-Latin manuscripts, and have supposed that the discovery of the genuine *Itala*, which it is vain to expect, as the hope is founded on a mistaken name, would be of the highest importance, in a critical inquiry into the New Testament. It was the opinion of the late Bengel, that the coincidence of the Latin version with the Codex Alexandrinus, was in every instance the strongest argument in favour of the authenticity of a reading: but he meant not the *Itala* alone, and ascribed the same value to the Vulgate, as published by Jerom. Its high antiquity, and the praises of Augustin, though these relate merely to its literal exactness, have been the chief causes of its great authority. Now this literal exactness is often carried so far as to produce mistakes against the rules of grammar; but whether the manuscripts, in which these are observed, are to be referred to the *Itala*, or whether this was written in better Latin, is a point which we are unable to determine. If the above-mentioned opinion, to which I subscribed in the first edition of this work, be true, the Latin version must have great influence in deciding on the authenticity of the Greek readings.

But other critics are of an opposite opinion, and they suppose that the Greek text has been corrupted in numberless

berless examples from the Latin: in which case the coincidence of the Greek and Latin texts would rather weaken, than support the evidence in favour of a reading. These were the sentiments entertained by Wetstein, and his arguments appeared so plausible, that in the second edition of this Introduction I became a convert to his doctrine. But at present I am convinced that the charge is ungrounded, or at least more severe, than is warranted by fact, and it is more probable that the Latin translation in the Greek-Latin manuscripts has been altered from the Greek, than the Greek from the Latin. The alterations, that may have taken place in the Greek, might rather be attributed to the Syriac. See below, chap. viii. sect. 3.

In the old Latin versions, those namely which existed before the time of Jerom, or have been added in the Greek-Latin manuscripts since that period, is a very great number of excellent readings, that are confirmed not only by the best and most ancient Greek manuscripts, but by other ancient versions, especially the Syriac and the Coptic.

But we cannot therefore conclude that they are universally genuine, for examples might be given of important readings, in which one Latin version contradicts the other: and whoever compares the Evangeliarium of Blanchini, will see with his own eyes the truth of Jerom's assertion, *si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda respondeant, quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria pæne, quot codices.* In collating the Syriac with ancient Latin versions, I found one half in favour of the Syriac, the other half against the Syriac reading.

As it cannot be denied that the oldest Latin versions are of very high antiquity, notwithstanding some of their readings are false, their principal use in the criticism of the New Testament is, that they lead us to a discovery of the readings of the very ancient Greek manuscripts, that existed prior to the date of any that are now extant. Though we are left in doubt, where their testimony



mony is different, yet, where their evidence agrees, the decision is of great authority.

Bengel, who observed the want of uniformity in the Latin text, has recommended an attention to the number, goodness, and antiquity of the manuscripts, as the surest means of discovering the genuine reading. This advice would be very applicable, if there had never existed more than a single Latin version, but in a variety of different translations, that which is genuine in the one, may be spurious in the other; and since in every work, the true text is that which came from the hand of the author, there may be different readings in different versions, yet all of them authentic.

Were it possible to distinguish the *Itala*, a term used by Augustin alone, and by him in only a single instance, from the other Latin translations, though no extract is on record which might lead to the discovery, it would be still a matter of great doubt, whether it would deserve the preference in determining the authenticity of a reading. The praises bestowed on it by Augustin, as being more literally exact than the versions that were common in Africa, afford no proof that it was taken from a more accurate Greek manuscript, than other translations. Even had it been affirmed by the pious father, yet, as he was ignorant of Greek, and a total stranger to learning in general, his opinion on that subject would have been of little weight. But admitting that the discovery of the *Itala* would reward the pains employed in the search, where is it to be sought? If it is one of the five manuscripts published by Blanchini, how is it to be distinguished? Or shall we conclude that the *Itala* is that, from which the Latin fathers have borrowed their quotations? Now these quotations disagree among themselves, and could not therefore have been taken from the same version: but setting this circumstance aside, it is a very arbitrary inference, that the Latin fathers, in different parts of the Roman empire, have constantly recurred to the version commended by a writer of Africa,  
in

in preference to those in use in their respective churches. Nay, Augustin himself, though he commended the Itala, might have quoted from the version that was usual in his own country, in the same manner, as German divines, though they preferred a later translation, would still quote the Bible from that of Luther.

It were to be wished, that the various readings of the old Latin manuscripts were carefully collected, and annexed, on a more extensive plan, to such editions as those of Mill and Wetstein: but they should be arranged in such a manner, as to prevent their being confounded with those collected from Greek manuscripts. By the editions of Sabatier and Blanchini, the task is rendered much easier than before, but these alone are not sufficient, and the work would be imperfect without a collection of manuscripts. These must not be quoted in a vague manner *Codices Latini*, still less must the word *Itala* be used, but the different manuscripts must be carefully distinguished from each other, by their respective titles, *Latina Vercellensis*, *Latina Veronensis*, &c.

The foregoing wish, which I expressed in a former edition, Professor Griesbach has already begun to put in execution\*.

## S E C T. XXVIII.

*Correction by Jerom\*.*

THE great confusion which prevailed in the copies of the old Latin version, induced Pope Damasus to employ Jerom in correcting it; and among all the Latin fathers, before and after his time, it seems that none was better qualified for the task. Jerom finished this useful work about the year 384, and he says himself, at the end of his *Catalogus de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, ‘*Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi.*’ Fabricius Stapulensis, and others, have understood this  
only

only of the Gospels, because he says, in the preface to the Gospels, *hæc præfens præfatiuncula pollicetur tantum quatuor Evangelia, codicum Græcorum emendata collatione*. But Simon, in the seventh chapter of his *Hist. Crit. des Vers.* very justly observes, that Jerom, in his letter to Marcellus, complains of those persons who preferred the old version to the new, and that he is there speaking of the epistles of St. Paul; and further, that the Vulgate, after the time of Jerom, was manifestly different from the old version, in all the books of the New Testament; whence we may naturally conclude, that the correction was not confined to the four Gospels. He partly expunged the spurious readings, and partly corrected the translations, which appeared to be erroneous; but it must be confessed, that, with the best intention, he has sometimes altered for the worse. He constantly appeals to the Greek original, as the touchstone, by which the version must be tried: but he acknowledges himself, that he attempted not to amend all the errors, but only those of the greatest importance, and hence we may explain the reason why his commentary sometimes differs from his version<sup>2</sup>. We shall find in the sequel, that the present Vulgate of the church of Rome agrees not entirely with Jerom's version: and perhaps this may be the reason why it sometimes disagrees with that father's commentary. The two learned Benedictine monks, Martianay and Pouget, published the genuine version of Jerom, from a very beautiful manuscript at Paris, in 1693, under the title *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi divina bibliotheca hactenus inedita*, and prefixed to it their excellent Prolegomena, to which, and to Simon, chap. 7—12. I refer my readers for a more full account of it, and of the present Vulgate, than the nature of this work permits<sup>3</sup>.

## S E C T. XXIX.

*Fate of the Vulgate after the time of Jerom.*

THE new edition of the Vulgate by Jerom, superseded not the old and uncorrected version, for the labour of the learned father was regarded by many as a blameable innovation, the old version was still permitted by the Church of Rome, and when Leander Bishop of Seville inquired of the Pope which of the two deserved the preference, he received for answer, *sedes Apostolica, cui præsideo, utraque translatione utitur*. This was carried so far, that the Anglo-saxon version was taken from the old Latin, not from the corrected Vulgate of Jerom<sup>1</sup>. In the course of time the versions were intermixed with each other, a confusion of which Cassiodorus was the principal cause, who ordered them to be written together in parallel columns, that the old version might be corrected by the Vulgate: and though Alcuin by command of Charlemagne provided more accurate copies<sup>\*</sup>, it fell again into such confusion, and was so disfigured by innumerable mistakes of the copyists, that the manuscripts of the middle age materially differ from the first editions, that appeared in print. The mixed text of the middle ages is found in a higher or lower degree, in all the manuscripts of the Vulgate, that were written during that period. The most celebrated is that preserved in the Library of the Monastery of St. Emeram in Ratibon, written in the year 870, by the order and the expence

\* See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 84. The words of Theganus in du Chesne *Scriptores Francici*, Tom. II. p. 277. are worthy of notice, because it appears from them, that the Latin version was collated not only with the Greek, but with the Syriac. 'Dominus imperator nihil aliud cepit agere, nisi in orationibus et eleemosynis vacare, et libros corrigere. Nam quatuor evangelia Christi in ultimo anno ante obitus sui diem cum Græcis et Syris optime correxerat.' In the page of Wetstein's Prolegomena, which follows that above-quoted, an account is given of other alterations, that were made in the Vulgate during the middle ages; but I omit them at present, because they are of little importance in sacred criticism.

pence of Charles the Bald, in golden letters, bound in gold, and set with pearls and precious stones. This manuscript belonged to the Abbey of St. Denys, but it was brought to Germany by Arnulphus, and deposited where it is found at present. It contains only the four Gospels, the text of which deviates in a high degree from the present Vulgate, and appears to be a confused mixture, though no doubt can be made that all possible pains were bestowed on it. A description of this manuscript, with extracts of its variations (that is various readings of the present Vulgate, and remnants of the old version) has been given by Coloman Sanftl, Librarian of the Monastery, in a treatise published in 1786 with the following title. *Dissertatio in aureum et pervetustum SS. evangeliorum codicem MS. monasterii S. Emerami, Ratibonæ* \*.

Robert Stephens was the first who attempted to remedy this confusion, by publishing the Latin New Testament from ancient manuscripts in 1543 and 1545. Though this edition was rejected and prohibited by the Papists, on account of errors with which they charged the editor, it was used by John Hentenius, who derived from it very great advantage, and having collated several other manuscripts, published in 1547 a new and more correct edition under the inspection of the Divines of Louvain. These again, after having corrected the printed text partly from Latin manuscripts, partly from the original itself, published at Louvain in 1573 an edition of the Bible, that is much superior to the preceding. This was done in consequence of an order of the council of Trent, that council being desirous to have the readings of the Vulgate examined and ascertained. But the labour of the Divines of Louvain received not the entire approbation of the Pope, and Sixtus the Fifth forbade the printing of various readings in the Vulgate, an order which the members of the Church of Rome evade, by collecting readings to the ancient version. The same Pope commanded a new inspection of the Vulgate to be made in Rome, the result of which was a new edition that was  
finished

finished in 1588, but not made public before 1590, after it had undergone a careful revival. Sixtus V. pronounced it, with the clause, *apostolica nobis a domino tradita auctoritate*, to be the authentic Vulgate, that was the object of inquiry in the council of Trent, which he styles '*perpetuo valituram constitutionem*.' But his successors were of a different opinion, and Clement VIII. published another authentic Vulgate, that differs more than any other edition from that of Sixtus V. and mostly resembles that of Louvain. But in order to preserve the infallibility of the sovereign pontiff, it was pretended that all this was done in consequence of an order given by Sixtus V. with a view of correcting the errors of the press, that he had discovered in his edition. Yet it still remains a flaw in the Papal character, of which Protestants have taken advantage in a manner that sensibly affects the Church of Rome; especially James in his *Bel-lum papale*, five concordia discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. Londini 1600, and in his *Treatise on the Corruption of Scripture*, &c. 1611. But perhaps the Pope has been treated unjustly, for every legislative power, whether temporal or spiritual, may declare a law in *perpetuum valitura*, that is, a law that shall remain in force, till repealed by the power that made it. Moses has applied to his laws the same or similar expressions, for instance *לעולם ודורם*, yet the law of Moses was transitory, and abolished by Christ. As Simon has given a full account of these editions in the 11<sup>th</sup> chapter, I refer my readers to his critical history, and at the same time request them to compare Baumgarten's *Description of remarkable books*. Vol. III. p. 17—34.

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### S E C T. XXX.

*In what manner the Vulgate is regarded by Papists and Protestants.*

THE Church of Rome, and the Protestant Church, consider this Vulgate in a very different light. By some it is extolled too highly, by others unjustly depreciated

ciated, who speak with contempt of an ancient and excellent version, upon the emendations and editions of which so great care and pains have been bestowed. Few have preserved a proper medium.

The Church of Rome is obliged to treat this version with the utmost veneration, since the council of Trent in the sixth session declared the same to be authentic, and to be used whenever the Bible is publicly read, and in all disputations, sermons, and expositions. The words are somewhat ambiguous, and in the Latin are as follows: *insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot seculorum usu in ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.* Hence several bigotted Divines of that Church, conclude that the Vulgate is absolutely free from error, and that no one is at liberty to vary from it in a translation or exposition. But the more sensible part is of a different opinion, and interpret the words in a moderate sense. According to their explanation, "authentic" signifies not "infallible," but "legal," and the Council has not declared this version to be authentic in all cases, but only in public readings, disputations, sermons, and expositions, that is, no other version shall be read in the church; and as the Council observed in it no errors, which might lead to other doctrines of faith, that doctrine is pronounced to be proved, which can be proved from the Vulgate, and no one is permitted to deliver from the pulpit an exposition, that is not found in this version. The words being thus explained, the council of Trent did no more than every church has a right to do, with respect to a translation that contains no errors of faith; and the Church of Rome is the more to be justified, as it has given the preference to a version of the highest antiquity.

tiquity. However, I confess that there is an ambiguity not only in the word *authentica*, but also in the word *publicis*, whether it is to be taken with *lectionibus* alone, or whether it equally belongs to *disputationibus*, *prædicationibus*, and *expositionibus*. Whoever is engaged in controversy with the Romish clergy, should acquaint himself thoroughly with the Vulgate, and diligently investigate the real sense of its phrases, as the surest means of discovering the truth, and confuting his opponents. In arguing, for instance, whether marriage be a sacrament, he must carefully examine, in what sense *sacramentum* is used in the Vulgate. But inquiries of this nature demand more application, more knowledge of Latin and of Christian antiquity, and a more intimate acquaintance with the fathers, than superficial readers imagine.

Highly as the Vulgate is extolled by the church of Rome, it has been depreciated beyond measure at the beginning of the sixteenth century by several learned Protestants, whose example was followed by men of inferior abilities. At the restoration of learning, when the faculty of writing elegant Latin was the highest accomplishment of a scholar, the Vulgate was regarded with contempt as not written with classic purity. And after the Greek manuscripts were discovered, their readings were preferred to those of the Latin, because the New Testament was written in Greek, and the Latin was only a version: but it was not considered that these Greek manuscripts were modern in comparison of those originals from which the Latin was taken; nor was it known at that time, that the more ancient the Greek manuscripts and the other versions were, the closer was their agreement with the Vulgate. This has been clearly evinced by Simon, who made it a particular object of his attention in his *Hist. Crit. du Texte et des Versions du N. T.* and has pointed out the real merits of the Latin version. Our ablest critics, such as Mill and Bengel, have been induced by this treatise to abandon the opinion of their predecessors, and have ascribed to the Vulgate a value perhaps greater than it deserves.



## S E C T. XXXI.

*General remarks on the Gothic version of Ulphilas.*

**A**FTER altering my opinion more than once upon this subject, I am at present persuaded that the version published under the name of the Gothic, is really a Gothic, and not a Frankish version. Those who would prosecute this inquiry further than the limits of this introduction allow, may have recourse to the prefaces and treatises of Marshall, Benzel, Lye, and Knittel in their respective editions of the Gothic version: to Heupel's *Diff. de verf. Gothica iv. evangelistarum*, Wittenberg 1693: *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra* T. I. p. 371. *Thefaurus epist. La Croz.* T. III. p. 78. and Chamberlayne's *Oratio dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa*, p. 125—149, where the epistle of La Croze is reprinted: *Wachter de lingua codicis argentei*, a very learned essay printed in the second continuation of the *Miscellanea Berolinensia*, p. 40—47: and to the following works of Ihre, *De lingua codicis argentei*, Upsal 1754. *Ulphilas illustratus* 1752—1755. and *Specimen glossarii Ulphilani* 1753. It is not my design to mention every author, who has written on this subject, but only those from whom I have derived instruction, to whom those readers may refer, who wish to have more ample information, than what is contained in the short extracts, that will be given in this and the following sections.

The Goths, to whom the present subject relates, were not only a race distinct from the Goths of Sweden, but derived not even their origin from that country. Their ancient habitation was to the east of the Borysthenes; but wandering gradually westward towards the provinces of the Roman empire, they at last settled in Wallachia. It was during their residence in that country that they received a translation of the Bible in their native language, from their celebrated Bishop Ulphilas, whose name is variously written by the Greek and Roman au-

thors Vulphila<sup>1</sup>, Urphila, Gilphula, &c. and who invented the Gothic alphabet, or rather composed it in imitation of the Greek. He translated the Old Testament as well as the New, without the exception of any single book, for though Philostorgius<sup>2</sup> asserts that Ulphilas omitted the Book of Kings, from an apprehension that the martial spirit of his nation might be roused by the relation of the Jewish wars, yet this opinion has been confuted by Knittel in his learned commentary<sup>3</sup>.

The author of this version, who has had the good fortune enjoyed by few ancient translators of the Bible, to have his name transmitted to posterity, was by birth a Cappadocian, and lived in the middle of the fourth century. Philostorgius places him in the reign of Constantine the Great, who is said to have held him in great veneration, and to have called him the Moses of his time. But this was a mistake in Philostorgius, because it is certain from the accounts of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, that Ulphilas lived in the time of Valens and Valentinian, and was even employed by his countrymen in an embassy that took place in 378. His life is best described by Archbishop Benzel in the preface to his edition of Ulphilas<sup>4</sup>.

Ecclesiastical writers have ranked him among the Arians, and have observed, what appears to be no very pertinent remark, that the Arian doctrines have had no influence on his version of the Bible. It is said that the orthodox of antiquity have never represented the Gothic Bible as spurious, and that in those parts of it which are extant, no traces can be discovered of a corruption in favour of the opinions of Arius. This observation might be of importance if the Arians had the same temptation to alter passages of scripture as the Socinians, or if among the fragments of the Gothic version, those passages were still extant that contain the chief arguments for Christ's divinity. An Arian, who believes the Son of God not only to have existed before all created beings, but that he was the creator himself, could be under no necessity of altering even the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, because

<sup>1</sup> Hist. eccles. Lib. II. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Sect. 255.

because the whole controversy depends, not so much on the words themselves, as on the mode of explaining them. But the five first chapters of this Gospel are no longer extant, and in the few fragments of the epistle to the Romans, the principal passage, ch. ix. 5. the only text which can create difficulty to an Arian, is wanting. It appears therefore extraordinary, that Knittel should make use of this argument<sup>\*</sup> as a proof that our present version is really the Gothic of Ulphilas, and not another ancient German translation, when in the few fragments that remain, there is hardly a passage where an opportunity for corruption could have taken place.

An account of the testimonies which the ancients have given of the Gothic version, may be seen in the 254<sup>th</sup> section of Knittel's treatise; I shall therefore only observe that it appears from the Martyrology of Nicetas, preserved by Simeon Metaphrastes<sup>3</sup>, that the version was made immediately from the Greek. It is necessary to make this observation, because later writers have doubted, whether it was not taken from the Latin. But, independent of this evidence, it would be natural to conclude that a native Cappadocian, who was Bishop of a nation in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and was sent ambassador to the Greek emperor, would translate from the original Greek, with which he was much better acquainted, than with the Latin version.

There is a passage of importance on this subject, which has escaped the notice of the writers mentioned in the beginning of this section. It is found in very barbarous Latin, at the end of a manuscript preserved at Brescia, containing the old Latin version of the four Gospels, and quoted by Blanchini in the Prolegomena to the first volume of his *Evangeliarium quadruplex*. p. 8. sed ut dixi, quæ ipse a vero propheta suscepta vobis tradidi, prosequimini, et si minus plenæ adfersionis esse videbuntur, et ideo ne in interpretationibus linguarum, secundum quæ in interiora libri ostendantur, legenti videatur.

<sup>\*</sup> Caret Codex Argenteus omni Arianorum corruptione. Purus est et hac labe Carolinus Codex auster. § 265.

videatur. Aliud in Græca lingua, aliud in Latina vel Gothica, designata esse conscripta, illud advertat quis, quod si pro disciplina lingua discrepationem ostendit, ad unam tamen intentionem concurrat. Though this passage is not very intelligible, yet so much may be gathered from it, that the Gothic version was known in Italy, and that a distinction was made between it and the Latin version. It is explained at length by Semler in his essay on the Gothic version\*, who considered it as a preface, to a collation of the Gothic text with the Greek and Latin.

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S E C T. XXXII.

*Of the fragments that have been hitherto discovered of the Gothic Bible.*

WE have only a few remains of this, in many respects, important version. The principal of these are contained in the famous Codex Argenteus, which has the four Gospels, though not without considerable chasms. It is written on vellum, and has received the name of argenteus from its silver letters, but the initials are golden. The deep impression of the strokes makes it probable that the letters were either imprinted with a warm iron, or cut with a graver and afterwards coloured. This deep impression has been of use in discovering the letters, where the colour is faded. The alphabet is such as might be expected from Ulphilas, perfectly similar to no known alphabet, but a manifest composition of the Greek and Latin. When this book was first discovered, it was bound very irregularly, but Junius reduced it to the order in which it is found at present. Some of the zealous advocates for this manuscript have maintained, that it is the very copy, which Ulphilas wrote with his own hand. Now it is not only very improbable, that the only copy which is now extant should be precisely the original, but Ihre has discovered

several various readings in the margin, a circumstance which clearly shews it to have been written at a time when several transcripts had been already made.

We have no knowledge of this important manuscript prior to the discovery of it in the Abbey of Werden in Westphalia, whence it was brought to Prague, and there fell into the hands of the Swedes, who sent it to Sweden. After lying some time in the library of Queen Christina, it suddenly disappeared, without any one's being able to account for the loss, and was again brought to light in the Netherlands. Some have supposed that Isaac Vossius received it as a present from the Queen, others that he brought it away by stealth, but Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie repurchased it for 600 dollars, and presented it to the University of Upsal, where it remains at present.

This part of the Gothic version has been four times printed. The title of the first edition is *Quatuor T. N. Jesu Christi evangeliorum versiones per antiquæ duæ, Gothica scilicet et Anglofaxonica: quarum illam ex celeberrimo codice argenteo nunc primum deprompsit Franc. Junius, hanc autem ex codicibus manuscriptis collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Marshallus, Anglus, cujus etiam observationes in utramque versionem subnectuntur. Accessit et Glossarium Gothicum, cui præmittitur alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum, &c. opera ejusdem Fr. Junii. Dordrecht 1665.* This edition is printed in Gothic letters, or such as are found in the *Codex Argenteus*, and was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1684. But another edition was printed in Latin letters in 1671 at Stockholm, accompanied with the Islandish, the Swedish, and the Latin Vulgate.

In these three editions, of which the two latter were taken from the former, were many inaccuracies that arose from the difficulty of decyphering the letters, many of which were illegible in consequence of the colours being faded, while others were rendered obscure by the deep impression of the letters in the front of the leaf. To remove these difficulties, a critic was necessary, who  
with

with very good eyes united both a knowledge of the language, and leisure and industry for the undertaking. The Swedish Archbishop Benzel, who was Head Librarian at Upsal, devoted whole years to the study of the Codex Argenteus, but after having taken a fresh copy, written a Latin translation, and prepared the whole for the press, the world was deprived of this excellent man, who died in 1743 at the time that he intended to publish his new edition. However the task was finished by Lye, who prefixed a short but excellent preface, and likewise a Gothic grammar, as appears from the following title, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Gothica, ex codice argenteo emendata atque supplēta, cum interpretatione latina et annotationibus Erici Benzeli, non ita pridem archiepiscopi Upsalienfis. Edidit, observationes suas adjecit, et grammaticam Gothicam præmisit Edwardus Lye A. M. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1750.* In this edition, which is printed with Gothic letters, the errors of the preceding are corrected, and many of the various readings, with which the Gothic version furnishes the Greek Testament, are remarked in the notes.

This is the best edition hitherto published, but it has appeared, from a later and still more accurate examination of the original manuscript, that many errors still remain to be corrected. The learned Ihre published in 1752 and 1755, two small essays that bear the title of *Ulphilas illustratus*, in which the erroneous passages of all four editions are correctly printed in Latin letters, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes. Future critics, therefore, who would correct the mistakes in the various readings collected from the Gothic version by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, and supply what they have omitted, must to Lye's edition join the *Ulphilas illustratus* of Ihre, who has discovered not less than 56 faults in the Gospels only of St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is true, that many have no influence on the readings of the Greek text: yet on a comparison of the extracts made by Wetstein with the *Ulphilas illustratus*, I have corrected the following passages, Luke i. 29. ii. 4.

v. 34. vi. 12. 20. vii. 6. 20. 40. viii. 2. 24. 30. 37. 47. ix. 3. 38. 41. 50. xv. 31. xvii. 9. 36. and several others. The above mentioned works of Ihre, which are difficult to be procured out of Sweden, have been published by Büsching in 1773 under the following title, *Johannis ab Ihre scripta versionem Ulphilanam et Mæsfogothicam illustrantia ab ipso auctore emendata, novisque accessibus aucta.*

In the year 1763 was published another fragment of Ulphilas, taken from the Codex Carolinus in the library of Wolfenbüttel. In this library is preserved an ancient manuscript, written in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century, of the Origenes Isidori Hispalensis, a part of which is written on vellum, on which part had been written the version of Ulphilas in Gothic characters, accompanied with an old Latin version in a parallel column. Through ignorance of its value, the vellum leaves had been gradually torn out to serve for coverings to other books, but it was fortunately discovered by Knittel before the whole was destroyed, who with very great difficulty decyphered the Gothic and the Latin, which he published with very learned notes and essays under the following title, *Ulphilæ versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos—ex litura codicis cujusdam manuscripti rescripti, qui in Augusta apud Guelpherbytanos bibliotheca adservatur, una cum variis variæ literaturæ monumentis hucusque ineditis, eruit, commentatus est, datque foras Franc. Anton. Knittel.* It contains only the few following passages, Rom. xi. 33—36. xii. 1—5. 17—21. xiii. 1—5. xiv. 9—20. xv. 3—13: yet he has collected from them 39 various readings to the Greek testament, of which one third however may be referred rather to the idiom of the Gothic dialect, than to a variation in the text of the Greek manuscript from which the version was made. The Latin translation, which occupies the first column, appears to have been made in the sixth century in Italy, a circumstance which will remind the reader of an observation which I made above, respecting the use of the Gothic version in that country.

Of this fragment Ihre published a new and very important edition that bears the following title, *Fragmenta versionis Ulphilanæ continentia particulas aliquot epistolæ ad Romanos haud pridem ex codice rescripto bibliothecæ Guelpherbytanæ a Franc. Ant. Knittel edita, nunc cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita a Johanne Ihre. Accedunt duæ dissertationes ad philologiam Mæfogothicam spectantes. Upsalæ 1763.* This publication should be in the hands of every critic, who would build on a solid foundation.

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### S E C T. XXXIII.

*Of the language of this version, and whether it should be called Gothic or Frankish.*

I HAVE taken for granted in the two last sections, that the version published under the name of the Gothic, is really such, and to be attributed to Ulphilas, though it is a subject on which the learned have been much divided. It must however be remarked, that those who have been most eminently distinguished for Gothic literature, and have devoted the greatest attention to the *Codex Argenteus*, as Marshall, Junius, Wachter\*, Benzel, Lye, Ihre†, and Knittel, are unanimously of opinion that the version is Gothic. On the other hand, there have not been wanting men of profound learning, who have supposed it to have been written within the limits of Germany, and have taken it in particular for a Frankish version: but we must allow, that these have been in general more distinguished for their knowledge of other languages than the Gothic, and that they have not immediately applied to the study of the *Codex Argenteus*, with the same industry, as those whom I have mentioned above,

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\* In the *Miscellanea Berolinensia*. Contin. I. p. 40—47.

† In his *Dissertatio de lingua Codicis Argentei*, published in 1754.



It is said that Hickee was the first who doubted whether the Codex Argenteus were Gothic. Arnas Magnæus in a letter to Bassewitz, published in Lye's preface, p. 7. has likewise expressed some doubts on this subject: but in fact his opinion amounts only to this, that the language of the Codex Argenteus more nearly resembles the German than the Swedish, and therefore that it was more probably written by some German tribe, than by a race of Goths that might have come from Sweden. La Croze in the above-mentioned letter to Chamberlayne goes still further, and maintains it to be a Frankish version, which he supports with so many specious arguments, that many of the learned, among others Bayer\*, have subscribed to this opinion. Wettstein in his Prolegomena expresses the same sentiments, and Mosheim thought to have discovered a new argument in its favour which he communicated to me in conversation, and intended to have delivered at large in the *Relationes de libris novis*, in reviewing Lye's edition of *Ulphilas*. But as that recension never took place, I will quote the argument in a following section, that it may not be lost to the world, though I am at present persuaded, that the whole opinion is ungrounded.

A decision in this controversy is the more difficult, as beside the fragments, which are the subject of dispute, no books are extant that were written in the language of those Goths, who wandered from the banks of the Borysthenes to Italy and Spain. And what has greatly contributed to perplex the arguments is the commonly received opinion, that this nation was an offspring of the Goths of Scandinavia, whence a too great similarity has been expected between their language, and those which are spoken in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. In fact the language of the Codex Argenteus occupies a middle rank between those and the German, and approaches the nearest to the coarse dialect which is spoken by our peasants in Thuringen. But as the Northern languages in general have an uniformity of character, the

\* *Thesaurus epistolicus* La Crozianus, Tom. I. p. 49. Tom. II. p. 281.

the learned have decided in favour of a Gothic or Frankish version, as they happened to discover in the *Codex Argenteus* a resemblance to the Scandinavian, or the present German<sup>1</sup>.

Magnæus, who determined in favour of the latter, has been refuted in several instances by Benzell, but in many others, as far as I am able to judge, he was not mistaken. The *Codex Argenteus*, as he observes, has an article like the German, whereas the Scandinavian languages express it by a termination<sup>2</sup>. This appears to be a solid argument, notwithstanding it is supposed by Benzell that the German had formerly no article, and that they borrowed it from the Greeks, though their article is very unlike the German, and that of the *Codex Argenteus*. Another proof, which is given by Magnæus, is the formation of the participle, and of several substantives by prefixing the syllable *ga*, exactly in the same manner as the Germans prefix *ge*. But on the other hand the participle is frequently formed in the *Codex Argenteus* without any prefix, and in those cases it resembles the Scandinavian<sup>3</sup>. To the arguments of Magnæus I will add the following, that in the *Codex Argenteus* infinitives are frequently formed by prefixing *ga*, as *galaikan*, *gatairan*, which corresponds to the Thuringian idiom, in which the peasants for *weichen*, say *gewicha*, or *gewichen*, and in *Otfried gilefin* is used for *lesen*<sup>4</sup>. But I will rather leave this enquiry to those who have made a particular study of the ancient German, and will only add, that many words of the *Codex Argenteus* are used in Sweden and Denmark, but not in Germany<sup>5</sup>.

Yet after all, if the greatest affinity subsisted between the language of the *Codex Argenteus* and that of the Germans, it would afford no argument that *Ulphilas* was not the author. For who will undertake to prove that the Goths of the Borysthenes spake the same language as the Goths of Sweden, or even that their dialect approached nearer to it, than to the language of the ancient Germans? No reason can be assigned for supposing them to be a tribe, which came from the north

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<sup>1</sup> See *Utre de lingua Cod. arg.* § 24, 25.

of the Baltic: their original habitation was the northern boundary of the Euxine, and being either common ancestors or brethren of the Germans and Swedes, their language must have a resemblance to that of both nations, and might possibly be more similar to the former. High German, Frankish, Low Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, Swedish, Danish, Islandish, are only dialects of the same ancient language, which in the course of ages have gradually deviated from each other. The higher we ascend, the greater is their resemblance, and as the language of the Codex Argenteus occupies as it were a middle rank, it affords a very strong presumption of its being that of the Goths of Mæsia, and written in an age before the tree had spread itself into so many branches, See Ihre de lingua cod. arg. sect. 21.

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## S E C T. XXXIV.

*Arguments by which the Codex Argenteus, and Carolinus  
are proved to be Gothic.*

As beside these manuscripts no ancient fragments are extant, either of the Gothic or the Frankish dialect, with which they might be compared, the decision of this question would be attended with great difficulty, had not the diligence and penetration of several learned critics, especially Wachter, Ihre, and Knittel, without the aid of other ancient writings in those dialects, discovered arguments, which determine in favour of the former. It is true, that not all are perfectly convincing, and Knittel in particular has produced them in such numbers, that many are unavoidably weak, and diminish the force of evidence, which he intended to augment. But the following, which I have selected from the rest seem very satisfactory, and I shall be the less accused of partiality on this subject, as I formerly maintained an opposite opinion. At the end of each argument I will refer to the author from which it is taken.

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1. It is certain from the testimony of the ancients that a Gothic version actually existed, whereas not only no accounts are on record of the existence of an ancient version in Germany, (I mean in prose, for a metrical version has no reference to this question) but it appears from the expressions which are used by Otfried, that no one in this country had attempted to translate the Bible before his time. Consequently, it is more rational to suppose, that an ancient version composed in a dialect of the German language, taken in its most extensive sense, is Gothic, and not Frankish, or German taken in the more confined sense of the word. *Ihre*, § 3. Knittel, § 281.

2. We have likewise historical evidence that Ulphilas invented an alphabet for the Goths, which he used in his version of the Bible. When we find therefore an ancient German version written in peculiar characters, one half of which is from the Greek, the other from the Latin, it is natural to ascribe it to the Goths who lived on the borders of the Danube. For in Wallachia, where they at that time resided, the Latin was spoken, and their nearest neighbours were the Greeks. A mixed alphabet therefore, as found in the *Codex Argenteus*, is such as might be reasonably expected: whereas it is inconceivable that an alphabet introduced into Germany should have been half Greek, and incredible, had it ever been used in this country, that no trace of it should be remaining, and that our most ancient records should be entirely different from a set of characters, that were used in a version of the Bible. Knittel, § 258—262, but he seems to have weakened this argument by carrying it too far.

3. The language of the *Codex Argenteus* is distinguished from that spoken in Germany by a great variety of words, of which no trace can be discovered, even among the radicals of our language, and in our most ancient records. (*Wachter*, p. 45, 46.) This circumstance affords no presumption that the language of the *Codex Argenteus* was current in Germany since the ages  
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of Christianity, but it is well adapted to the Goths of Mœsia who had their peculiar expressions, which never found their way into this country, and adopted others from the nations with which they were surrounded. The auxiliary verb, 'to have,' which is usual in every dialect of Germany, and in every language that is derived from the German, is unknown in the *Codex Argenteus*; which again makes use of a dual, which was never known in the German; for had it ever existed, it is impossible that all remembrance of it should have been totally lost<sup>1</sup>.

Still lower is the probability that the *Codex Argenteus* was a Frankish version in particular, because it differs more from the old Frankish dialect, than from those used in other parts of Germany. Ihre, § xi. Knittel, § 284. where the comparison is made with the greatest diligence and accuracy.

4. Some of the words in the *Codex Argenteus* that fail in the German and all the languages of the North, are still used in the lesser Tartary, the ancient seat of the Goths; for instance, *swiltan*<sup>2</sup> 'to die,' from *swalt* 'death,' a word quoted by Busbeck from the language of the Crim Tartars<sup>3</sup>. (Wachter, p. 43.) Knittel, § 240. has augmented the catalogue of these words so as to injure the cause which he intended to support, for he has produced several that are likewise German, and furnish therefore no argument that the *Codex Argenteus* was not written in Germany.

5. In the *Codex Argenteus* many words are adopted immediately from the Greek. Here I understand not such as have been common to the German and the Greek from the earliest ages of antiquity, and shew either an original relation, or original connection between the two nations, but such Greek words, as are found in no other German dialect, than that of the *Codex Argenteus*, and have been transferred from the Greek after the complete formation of both languages: for instance, *Atta*, father, *αττα*. *Ams*, the shoulder, *ωμος*, where even the *s* is retained from the Greek termination. *Spyreidans*, baskets, *σπυριδεις*.

*παρῖδες*. Rhatizo, easier, *ῥαδίος*. Maizo, greater, *μεῖζον*. Afstaffais (*ἀποσάσιον*) bokos, bill of divorce. This betrays not a dialect that was used in Germany or in the North, but that of a nation, that lived in the neighbourhood of the Greeks. Even the mode of expressing the sound of *ng* in the Codex Argenteus is purely Greek, and never used in Germany, where the Latin orthography has been received, for Finger is written in that manuscript Figgr, as the Greeks would have expressed it by a double gamma. Wachter, p. 41, 42.

6. The Cod. Argent. has Slavonian words, such as Fan, a master, which have never been adopted in Germany, and prove it to have been written in the dialect of a nation that bordered on Sarmatia, not in that of the Franks. Wachter, p. 43.

The same may be said of many Latin words. It is true that the Germans, among whom the Franks are included, have borrowed many words from the Latin, but these are confined to the language of religion, literature, arts, and sciences, which our ancestors had learnt from the Romans. The Cod. Argent. on the contrary, has many Latin expressions of common life that were never heard between the Rhine and the Oder, such as Anacumbjan, to sit at table, accumbere. Militondans, soldiers, militantes<sup>4</sup>. Wachter, p. 44. 55. Ihre, § 12, 13. To which perhaps aquha, water, might be added, which is found Luke vi. 49. in the margin: but Ihre in his Glossarium Ulphilanum, p. 36. holds it to be pure and ancient Gothic<sup>5</sup>.

This argument is the more decisive, when we consider that the Goths in the time of Ulphilas lived in Wallachia, a country in which Roman colonies had been planted, and where a corrupt Latin is spoken at this very day. To this may be added a circumstance hitherto unnoticed, that in Constantini Porphyrogeneti ceremonialis aulæ Byzantinæ, Vol. I. p. 222—225. is produced a number of words which are there called Gothic, and said to be used within the dominions of the Greek emperor<sup>6</sup>.

In the list of these Gothic words is a considerable number

ber that are really Latin, which have gradually supplanted the Gothic, and produced the present Wallachian. See the *Relationes de libris novis*, F. IV. p. 405—408. where Gesner has explained the Latin words which in the *Caer. Byz.* are termed Gothic'.

8. Several words, which ancient writers have quoted as Gothic, but which are unknown in the German, have been discovered by Knittel, in the *Codex Argenteus*, and *Carolinus*. The reader will find them, § 242—252. but not to weaken the force of the argument, he should pass over those which are found in other dialects of the German, such as Bold, audax.

9. Lye, in the 35<sup>th</sup> page of his preface, has produced an argument that is entirely new. He found in the *Inscriptiones antiquæ* of J. Baptista Donius, published by Gorius at Florence, in 1731, p. 496. the copy of an ancient conveyance of an estate written in bad Latin, and preserved at Arezzo, to which the original proprietor, who styles himself Gūdilubus, had subjoined a clause written in the same language and in the same characters, as the *Codex Argenteus*. Now the Goths are the only German tribe, that ever settled in this part of Italy, whence he concludes (and he is followed in this opinion by Ihre, § 16.) that this language and these characters are Gothic. For though the Franks made incursions into Italy, it was only in detached campaigns, and they were never in possession of landed property, in such a manner as to warrant a conjecture that an ancient deed of conveyance, written in a dialect of the German, is Frankish. Of this subscription, which is the only remnant of a German dialect that is similar both in language and letters to the *Codex Argenteus*, and *Carolinus*, Knittel has treated at large, § 219—224. Were it possible to discover more documents of this nature, which Lye supposes might be found in the libraries of Turin, the controversy might be determined with still greater certainty<sup>8</sup>.

## S E C T. XXXV.

*Confutation of the arguments alleged to prove, that the Codex Argenteus is not Gothic.*

I WILL now produce the arguments, which induced La Croze to believe the Codex Argenteus a Frankish, and not a Gothic version, and subjoin to each a confutation. They were answered indeed by Wilkins, though in a very unsatisfactory manner, in the preface to Chamberlayne's *Oratio dominica polyglotta*, but Ihre and Knittel have treated this subject with great perspicuity. The answer given by Laurentius Arnell I have never seen.

I. 'The Codex Argenteus was discovered in the abbey of Werden, in the County of Mark, in Westphalia, a country never inhabited by the Goths. Hence the place, at least, where it was found, affords no presumption that the version is Gothic, but is rather in favour of a Frankish version, because the county of Mark was a part of the most ancient kingdom of the Franks.'

It is consistent with justice to explain this argument, not as a proof that the Codex Argenteus cannot be Gothic, for La Croze meant only to assert, that we cannot immediately infer from the place of its discovery, that the version is Gothic, till other tokens of evidence are found in its favour: and since these tokens of evidence have been actually found, the argument of La Croze of course ceases to be any objection. In fact no conclusion whatsoever can be drawn from the place, where a manuscript is discovered, to the language in which it is written; for even Oriental productions lie buried in the libraries of Europe. But since the discovery of the Codex Carolinus, which appears to have been written in Italy, and of the ancient conveyance at Arezzo, the subscription of which, as well as the Codex Carolinus, is written in the same language and the same letters as the Codex Argenteus; the argument of La Croze, if it proves any thing, proves rather the contrary of what he intended.



Wachter has accounted in a very probable manner for the appearance of the Gothic Gospels, and especially so magnificent a copy as the Codex Argenteus, in the country of Mark. He is of opinion that Clodovaeus, or Childebert, after a victory over the Goths, found it among other spoils, and brought it into the country of the Franks, and quotes for that purpose several passages from Gregory of Tours\*, one of which is so remarkable, that it deserved to be transcribed, Childebertus inter reliquos thesauros ministeria ecclesiarum pretiosissima detulit. Nam lx calices, xv patinas, xx Evangeliorum capsas detulit, omnia ex auro puro, ac gemmis pretiosis ornata. Sed non est passus ea confringi, cuncta enim ecclesiis et basilicis sanctorum dispensavit, ac tradidit in ministerium.

2. 'The letters of the Codex Argenteus are very like the characters of the ancient Franks, as given in the last edition of Mabillon's *Ars Diplomatica*, Lib. V. p. 347. it is therefore probably a Frankish version.'

This argument would have more weight, if the resemblance were found in all the letters; but the Codex Argenteus has its own peculiar alphabet distinct from the Frankish, and no inference can be drawn from the similarity of certain letters, for both Goths and Franks borrowed their letters from other nations; those which they had in common from the Latin must of course be alike, and this likeness might be afterwards increased by the residence of the Goths in Italy. Ihre, § 7. Knittel, § 271, 272. But the best answer to this argument is a comparison of the two alphabets.

3. 'Ulphilas lived in Wallachia, and had continual intercourse with the Greeks: it is therefore probable that he wrote the Gothic not in Latin, but in Greek letters. Yet in the Codex Argenteus we find the Latin letters F. G. H. R. S. O. Q. and the small letter d, with only a bend of one of the strokes. The Codex Argenteus therefore is not Gothic.'

I considered this argument as very superficial, even when

\* Lib. III. cap. 10.

when I supported the opinion of La Croze in general. For Italian colonies had been planted in Wallachia; the name itself is derived from Welsh, a name which we still give to the Italians, and the modern Wallachian is derived from the Latin. Ulphilas therefore had it in his power at least to make use of Latin letters. See the remarks in the preceding section, on the intermixture of the Latin and the Gothic.

4. 'We are informed by Gregory of Tours' that Chilperic, king of the Franks, who reigned from the year 564 to 587, introduced four letters,  $\omega$ ,  $\Psi$ ,  $\Sigma$ ,  $\Delta$ , which were to express the sounds of a long O, Ae, The, and Uui. La Croze is of opinion that the alphabet into which they were introduced was the Frankish, and that three of them are to be found in the Codex Argenteus. On this relation therefore, though the text of Gregory must previously submit to alterations, he grounds the position that the Codex Argenteus is written with the alphabet of Chilperic, consequently Frankish, and composed in the sixth century.'

This very bold argument had formerly the greatest influence in inducing me to side with La Croze; but after more mature deliberation, having reflected that it has no other foundation than conjectural amendments of Gregory's text, and having read the answers which have been given to it by Ihre (§ 7, 8, 9, 10.) and Knittel (§ 278—280.) I revoke my former opinion. La Croze himself confesses that no trace of  $\omega$  is visible in the Codex Argenteus, which alone shews it to have been not written with the alphabet of Chilperic: yet the critical, though arbitrary alterations, which he has made in Gregory's text, seem to presuppose the use of that alphabet in the Codex Argenteus, and that the passage alleged in proof may be best explained from that manuscript. In the Codex Argenteus Ae is never expressed by  $\Psi$ , The by  $\Sigma$ , or Uui by  $\Delta$  (a letter not found in the Codex Argenteus): it was therefore needless for La Croze to venture critical conjectures, to prove that Chilperic had ordered these innovations to be made. Were his con-

jectures exposed not to the charge of improbability, yet a passage relating to four letters could hardly be admitted as a proof, when, in order to make it such, we must have recourse to two alterations, and to two exceptions. Ihre has not only pointed out the improbability, but shewn with very convincing arguments that Gregory of Tours alluded not to the Frankish, but the Latin alphabet.

5. The following is an argument of the late Mosheim. 'In Constantini Porphyrogeneti cærimon. Byz. Tom. I. p. 222—225. are two catalogues of Gothic words, that were usual in his time, but have no resemblance to the language of the Codex Argenteus. This version therefore is not Gothic.'

To form a proper judgement of this argument, the reader should refer to the *Relationes de libris novis*, Fasc. IV. p. 405—408. where the two catalogues are printed with Gesner's Remarks. The greatest number, especially in the first catalogue, of words that are called Gothic, are in reality corrupt Latin; for instance βονας (bonæ) for καλαι, γαυδεντες for χαιροντες. Neither of these catalogues therefore is to be considered as a list of such words as the Goths had brought from their original habitation, the country to the north of the Euxine; but such as were usual in Wallachia in the tenth century, and were called Gothic, because the Goths had once inhabited that country, and many of the inhabitants were still descended from Gothic ancestors. And we are not warranted to conclude, because the language of Wallachia is a corruption of the Latin, and was known to the Greeks of the tenth century under the name of the Gothic, that the ancient inhabitants of the northern boundary of the Euxine, who in the fourth century were in possession of Wallachia, made use of a dialect that had no resemblance to the German. A part of these pretended Gothic words, especially in the second catalogue, has a great affinity to the Hebrew, as σεεα, seat thyself, Heb. שבה. But as no one supposes that the Goths ever spoke Hebrew, they must be either mistakes, or they

they were taken from the jargon of the Wallachian Jews. Lastly, we find several words that have no resemblance to any known language, and are probably become unintelligible through mistakes of the transcribers : but they are as little entitled to the name of Gothic, as the rest of the catalogue, which, if it proved any thing, would prove too much ; for the names of the Gothic heroes alone shew the affinity of their language to the German, to which the words recorded by Porphyrogennetus have not the smallest resemblance.

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## S E C T. XXXVI.

*Whether the Gothic version of Ulphilas was taken from the Greek or from the Latin.*

**I**T appears from the two preceding sections, that the version contained in the Codex Argenteus is undoubtedly Gothic, and there remains therefore only one question to be decided, whether Ulphilas translated from the Greek original, or a Latin version. The internal evidence alone is insufficient to determine, for after a comparison of the Gothic text both with the Greek and with the Latin, we have as much reason to decide in favour of the one, as of the other. Bengel, who believed it to have been taken from the Greek, was still obliged to admit that it contained many traces of the Latin: Wetstein, his violent and even ill-bred antagonist, maintained at first a contrary opinion, but in his Prolegomena to the Greek Testament he subscribed to the sentiments of Bengel. See Bengel's *introductio in crisin N. T.* § xxxii. Obs. xx. Conf. iii. (p. 408. of the first edition, p. 43. 44. of the second) Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 114—116, and Benzel, p. 6, 7.

That method which is usually the safest in questions of this nature, an immediate comparison of the version with that original from which it is supposed to be taken, is in the present instance, as before observed, attended

with uncertainty; for the conclusion derived from the comparison of one page contradicts that which is drawn from the other. But these contradictions may be reconciled, and the whole subject will receive a new light, if we adopt a method in other cases precarious, and examine a priori which of the two might be most naturally expected. By these means we shall solve the problem, which made the subject of controversy between Bengel and Wettstein, and discover a new argument, that the Codex Argenteus and Carolinus are really parts of the Gothic version of Ulphilas.

We are informed by Simeon Metaphrastes that Ulphilas translated from the Greek, and the Bishop of the Goths was so circumstanced, that we must be guilty of violence, if we refused our assent to this testimony. For the inventor of the Gothic alphabet, of which at least the half is taken from the Greek, who used Greek letters to denote numbers<sup>a</sup>, setting B for 2, and E for 5, and who went ambassador to the court of Constantinople, would have hardly rejected the Greek original to translate from a Latin version.

On the other hand, it is not improbable that he had recourse to the Latin version, as a source of aid in difficult passages. The Roman colonists, who were settled in Wallachia, those at least among them who were converted to Christianity, must have read the Bible in the Latin version; and the assertion of Wettstein, that Ulphilas was ignorant of that language, must appear ungrounded to every man who knows the dialect that is still spoken in Wallachia. Nor is it impossible that Ulphilas made use of manuscripts that belonged to the Western edition of the Greek Testament. But if neither of these opinions were true, the Gothic Bible might have been corrected from the Latin after the death of Ulphilas, either in Wallachia or Italy. Of the two fragments of the Gothic version, the Codex Carolinus is a part of a Gothic Latin Bible, that is of a Latin Bible accompanied with a Gothic translation.

We shall incur therefore no danger of violating the truth,

<sup>a</sup> See John vi. 9. with Ihre's remark in the Ulphilas illustratus.

truth, if we maintain the two following positions, 1. The Gothic version was taken immediately from the Greek. 2. It has in many instances a striking affinity with the Latin. As the matter is so evident, I shall omit several arguments, such as that produced by Wetstein, that the Gothic version has several Latin words, and sometimes Latin terminations in the proper names. For these may be considered as Wallachisms, which had found early admittance into the Gothic, and were retained by Ulphilas, agreeably to the practice of the country, in the same manner as Luther, though he translated from the Greek, wrote Christus, not Christos, which no man would use as an argument, that Luther translated from the Latin.

It is perhaps to the influence of the Wallachian pronunciation that we must ascribe the orthography of several proper names of the Gothic version, in which we find for instance, as in the Latin, Kafarnaum, and Scariot. John vi. 59. xiii. 26. See Ihre's Ulphilas Illustratus, l. c.

But the following arguments appear to be decisive, and first in favour of the former of the two positions, that the Gothic is translated immediately from the Greek.

1. The author of this version has sometimes falsely translated from an error in regard to one or more letters of the Greek word, whereas it is accurately rendered in the Latin. Thus he read *τροφη* for *τρυφη*, Luke vii. 25. though not only the Vulgate, but all the manuscripts of the old Latin, published by Blanchini, have *deliciis*, and in the same manner *πεπωρωκεν* for *πεπληρωκεν*, John xvi. 6.

2. The Gothic has many readings that are found in no Latin version, some of which it has in common with Greek manuscripts, though others, not inconsiderable in number, are peculiar to it alone. The latter indeed are neutral, and belong not to the present question; for if we contend that the Gothic was translated from the Greek, because these readings are in no Latin version, our adversaries have an equal right to argue that it was taken from the Latin, as they are found likewise in no Greek manuscript. Of the former kind, which alone

relate to this inquiry, we find an instance, Luke ii. 15. where *ανθρωποι* is omitted in the Vulgate, and all Blanchini's manuscripts, but retained by Ulphilas. Many more may be seen in Benzel.

3. It retains in many words the Greek terminations, as *γαλιλαιας, ιουδαιας, ιεροσολυμων*, Luke v. 17.

4. The order of the Greek words is often retained in the Gothic, though a translator is not bound to so painful an attention to the original. For instance, Matth. xxvii. 43. *Θεε ειμι υιος* is rendered 'Goths im funus,' but the Latin has a different arrangement, *filius Dei sum*.

In regard to the second position, that the Gothic has an affinity with the Latin, we may observe that Mill has pointed out its coincidence in a great number of instances with the Codex Cantabrigienfis, but as we are at present persuaded that the Greek text of this manuscript has not been altered from the Latin, we can deduce this only inference, that the Gothic accedes to the Western edition of the Greek Testament, and has so far an indirect relation to the Latin version. But the two following Latin readings, not found even in the Cod. Cant. are very convincing. Luke ix. 50. is added in several Latin, but not a single Greek manuscript, *nemo est enim, qui non faciat virtutem in nomine meo, et poterit male loqui de me*, of which at least one half is in the Gothic version, namely, *ni ainshun auk ist manne faei ni gawaurkjai maht in namin meinamma*. (See Ulphilas illustratus). Luke i. 3. after *εδοξε καμοι* is added in the Gothic; without the authority of a single Greek manuscript, *jah ahmin veihamma*, 'and the Holy Ghost,' a spurious reading inserted from the Latin; for Blanchini's Codex Veronensis has 'placuit mihi et Spiritui sancto.' Other instances may be seen in Wetstein, who observes that even the title prefixed to the Gospels in the Gothic version is borrowed from the Latin formule, 'incipit evangelium secundum Marcum.'

The Gothic version is so verbally exact, that the order of the Greek construction is not seldom retained in violation of the genius of the Gothic language, which makes it

it the more extraordinary, that so many readings are found in this version, that have hitherto been discovered in no Greek manuscript<sup>2</sup>.

## S E C T. XXXVII.

*Of the Slavonian or Russian version.*

THE Russian, or, as it ought to be expressed in more general terms, the Slavonian version, deserves to be more generally known, and to be examined by the critics of the New Testament with the greatest attention. I sincerely lament that I neglected in my youth an opportunity of learning that language, not knowing the treasures which it contains, both for the critic and the historian, as I must now depend on the few accounts which I have been able to procure. I am partly indebted to Kohl's *Introductio in historiam et rem literariam Slavorum*, five *historia critica versionum Slavonicarum maxime insignium, nimirum Codicis Sacri, et Ephraemi Syri*: but it is to be lamented, that the author, who to Grecian literature joined a knowledge of the Russian language, is deficient in those very articles of intelligence, which can be had only from that country, and so totally devoid of critical curiosity, as to take not the least notice whether 1 John v. 7. is contained in the Slavonian version, or not. I have received more important information from Schlözer, who, at my request, has proposed several questions to Poletika, a man of learning in Russia, whose answers are the more satisfactory, as he was formerly Greek translator to the Holy Synod, and is well acquainted with the Russian libraries. His letter may on this subject be regarded as an original document; and I will therefore, for the satisfaction of my readers, subjoin it in a note<sup>1</sup>. I first discovered the  
value

<sup>1</sup> Answer to the Queries proposed by Schlözer, at the request of Michaelis, to the Academy of Sciences.



value of the Slavonian version in reading lectures on the Proverbs of Solomon from the Septuagint. Several of my hearers were at that time Russians, who, after I had pointed out some examples where the Seventy had been misunderstood, or a reading adopted that has been hitherto found in no manuscript, replied that they had the same in their version, which is taken immediately from the Septuagint. These examples belong not to the

1. I know of no copy of the whole Slavonian Bible in the Russian libraries more ancient than that which was written in the year 1499, in the time of the Grand duke Iwan Wafiljewitch, which is preserved in the library of the Holy Synod. But of the New Testament alone there are several copies much more ancient, namely of the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, some on vellum, others on paper, which are likewise preserved at Moscow in the library of the Holy Synod. I believe however that in all Russia no manuscript is so ancient, as that which the Czar Iwan Wafiljewitch gave to Garabunda, secretary to the Dutchy of Lithuania, and which was used in the Ostrog edition of the Bible, from the preface to which edition it appears that the manuscript was written in the time of the Grand duke Wladimir.

2. The following are the dates of the editions of the Slavonian Bible. At Ostrog in 1581, at Moscow in 1663, 1751, 1756, 1757, and in the present year 1766, all in folio: in 1759 an edition was published in large octavo. It was also printed at Kiow in 1758, in folio, and at Supraśl, in Poland, in small folio, as appears from Janozki's Dictionary of the Polish Literati, p. 15. But there is still an edition more ancient than any of the preceding, which was printed at Prague in 1519, under the direction of a Doctor of Physic, Franciscus Scorina of Polozk. But I cannot positively determine, whether this edition includes the whole Bible; for I never had an opportunity of seeing more than the first volume, which contains the five books of Moses. This volume is in the library belonging to the Academy of Sciences.

3. I cannot possibly determine at what period the passage, 1 John v. 7. was inserted in the text; but there is reason to suppose that the interpolation was made in the time of the Patriarch Nikon, in the year 1653, when an edition was published of the Acts and the Epistles, which edition I have in my library. My reason for this supposition is, that in the preceding editions of Moscow, and Kiow, which I have in my library, and which are printed in a particular manner for the service of the Church, the passage in question is not contained. I am likewise in possession of several copies of the Acts and the Epistles, written before the introduction of printing, in which, as well as in every other copy, this passage is omitted.

the present place, but will be given in the Introduction in the Old Testament. If the Russian translation of the Old Testament has more accurate readings than our printed editions, and discovers the author's knowledge of the Greek, in cases where the editors of the Polyglots were mistaken, we may naturally expect very great assistance in the criticism of the New.

The Russian, or Slavonian version, is not an offspring of the Latin, but taken, as every man acquainted either with the political or ecclesiastical history of that country must naturally suppose, from the Greek. So early as the ninth century the Bulgarians, who had the same language with the Russians, translated the theological writings of the Greeks; and from the end of the tenth century the Russians, who were even in that age a cultivated nation, followed their example. Now it is very improbable that they neglected to translate the most important of all writings, the Bible: but all doubts on this head have been removed by Kohl, who has clearly shewn that the two brothers, Methodius and Cyril, who lived in the ninth century, natives of Thessalonica, and apostles of the Slavonians, were the authors of this version'. Schlözer has found many and long passages quoted from it in old Russian chronicles in manuscript. According to the account given by Poletika, it appears that the Holy Synod ordered a complete copy of the Bible to be taken in 1499, but that manuscripts were extant of the New Testament from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, some on vellum, others on paper. Those of the eleventh century are not far removed from the fountain-head, being written only two centuries later than the version itself,

The oldest edition, of which we have any knowledge, is that of Prague, published by Franc. Scorina, in 1519; but Poletika is not certain whether it contains the Bible complete. It was revised in 1570, altered in several passages from an ancient manuscript given by Czar Iwan Wasiljewitz, and printed at Ostrog, in 1581, of which remarkably scarce edition an account may be seen in Clement Bibliothéque curieuse, Tom. III. p. 441—

445. A copy of this valuable edition, as well as of the edition of Moscow, in 1663, described by Clement as very scarce, is in our university library. A particular edition of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, was printed in 1653, which might be of great use in the criticism of the New Testament. Later editions have been published in 1751, 1756, 1757, 1759, 1766, at Moscow, in 1758, at Kiow, in 1743, at Supraśl, in Poland, beside editions of separate parts, such as the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, with which I am not acquainted<sup>2</sup>.

The passage 1 John v. 7. is found neither in the Ostrog edition, the ancient manuscripts, nor in those editions of the Acts and the Epistles which are prior to 1653. That of 1653 contains this passage, but I know not whether in the text, or in the margin; that of 1663 has it in the margin, that of 1751, which I have myself examined, and other modern editions, in the text.

The following readings of the Slavonian version were extracted, at my request, by Schlözer, and as it may be naturally supposed, that they have an affinity with the text of Theophylact, I will subjoin the readings that are found in his commentary.

Matth. viii. 28. Γεργεσσηων, as Theophylact.—Mark v. 1. and Luke viii. 26. Γαδαρηων, which is likewise the reading of Theophylact, but in his explanation of the passage he has written Γεργεσσηων.

Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. it has Barabbas, not Jesus Barabbas, as also Theophylact.

Mark xvi. 9—20. is in the Slavonian version, and in Theophylact<sup>3</sup>.

John i. 18. Βηθαβαρα, according to the correction of Origen. The reading of Theophylact is unknown, this passage being unnoticed in his commentary.

John v. 2. εἰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβηθῆρα, ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη Ἑβραϊστὶ Βηθεσδα. Here it varies from Theophylact, whose text is εἰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμοῖς πρὸς τὴν προβατικὴν κολυμβηθῆρα.

John v. 4. which is omitted in many copies of the New

New Testament, is found both in the Slavonian version and in Theophylact, with this only difference, that the former has κυρις; a reading found in several Greek manuscripts and ancient versions) after αγγελος, the latter not.

John vii. 53. viii. 11. it has the story of the adulterers, omitted by Theophylact.

Acts viii. 37. is in the Slavonian version. It is found in one of the commentaries of Theophylact, omitted in the other\*.

Acts ix. 5, 6. it has the interpolation σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν. Τρεμων τε και θαμβων ειπε, Κυριε τι με θηλεις ποιησαι; και ο Κυριος προς αυτον. I am curious to know how long this has been inserted, for it is found in none of the Greek manuscripts at Moscow which Matthæi has collated, nor in the edition of Theophylact by Sifanius.

Acts xix. 1. ανωτερα like the common editions, but Theophylact has ανατολικά.

Acts xx. 28. Κυρις και Θεε, and also Theophylact.

Rom. xiv. 24. After this verse it has the doxology, which in our editions is placed at the end of the xvi<sup>th</sup> chapter. Theophylact agrees with the Slavonian.

1 Tim. iii. 16. Θεος εφανερωθη, and likewise Theophylact.

The learned would be greatly indebted to any man of abilities for the undertaking, who would furnish a history of the Slavonian version, not in the manner of Kohl, but a really critical description, and extracts of its various readings. These must not be taken from the modern editions, but from those of Oïtrog and Prague; nor should a collation of the ancient manuscripts be neglected, which might be found not only in Russia, but in all the countries where dialects of the Slavonian are spoken. Moscow is the place where the task should be executed, because there are manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod so ancient as the eleventh century. It were to be wished that the learned in that city, or rather the Synod itself, would take such measures as might render the ancient version of their Church beneficial

ficial to Europe in general. If it were thought too laborious to undertake the whole at once, and only a part could be given as a specimen, I would recommend the Revelation of St. John, because we have very few manuscripts of this book, and the Slavonian version might furnish various readings of great importance<sup>5</sup>.

This request, which I made in the edition of 1777, has been in some measure, though imperfectly, fulfilled in 1785, in the *Apocalypsis Johannis Græce et Latine*, published by Matthæi, who has added, p. 342—388. his Appendix II. de versione Slavonica Apocalypseos, containing various readings from that version. But as the extracts were taken neither from Moscow manuscripts, nor the oldest edition, but made at Leipzig, from that of 1762, their critical application is attended with uncertainty<sup>6</sup>.

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## S. E. C. T. XXXVIII.

### *Of the Anglo-saxon versions.*

**T**HERE are several Anglo-saxon versions of the New Testament extant in manuscript, of which the fullest account is given in Le Long's *Bibl. Sacra*<sup>1</sup>, p. 420. Some books of the Bible were translated by bishop Eadfried, and the Gospel of St. John by Bede: but the tradition that king Alfred translated the greatest part of the New Testament is very uncertain. The whole version has never been printed, but the four Gospels have been published by Matthew Parker, William Lisle, and Thomas Marshall, in the years 1571, 1638, and 1665<sup>2</sup>, and being evidently translated from the old Latin<sup>3</sup>, may be of use in determining the readings of that version. Huth, in his dissertation *De mansuetis terræ hæredibus*, has indeed called this matter in question, saying that the order of the two verses, Matth. v. 4, 5, is inverted in the old Latin versions, but not in the Anglo-saxon. To which we may answer, that this is not true in all the old Latin manuscripts, for those of

Brescia and Verona, published by Blanchini, retain the order of the Greek, and such manuscripts were probably used by the authors of the Anglo-saxon\*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

#### SECT. I.

*Of the Codices manuscripti, considered as a mean of determining the genuine reading of the text of the Greek Testament.*

THE Manuscripts of the New Testament are the natural source, from which the genuine readings of the Greek Testament are to be drawn. The printed editions are either copies of more ancient editions, or of manuscripts, and they have no further authority than as they correspond to the manuscripts, from which they were taken. Though printed editions may be more correct than many manuscripts, yet, considered as evidence, they are of less weight than the manuscripts themselves, partly because these are more ancient, partly because an editor of the N. T. generally makes use of his own judgment, and of several readings gives to one in particular the preference, whereas a transcriber copies only what he finds in the more ancient Codex, of which he delivers a transcript: and they alone can be admitted as evidence, who simply report what they have heard and seen. But I confess that an exception must be made to those manuscripts, which in imitation of Knittel I will call *Codices critici*†.

It is evident that by manuscripts of the New Testament, I understand those only which were written before the invention of printing, and that those manuscripts, which are mere copies of printed editions, are foreign to our present purpose. Such for instance is the  
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**Codex Berolinensis**, or **Ravianus**, in which we find, 1 John v. 7. a manuscript written since the invention of printing, and copied from the edition of Alcala.

No manuscript now extant is prior to the sixth century; and, what is to be lamented, various readings, which, as appears from the quotations of the fathers, were in the text of the Greek Testament, are to be found in none of the manuscripts which are at present remaining; for instance, the addition after Mark xvi. 14, which I mentioned above chap. vi. sect. 12. It is true that this reading is evidently spurious, but whether spurious or genuine, it appears from this example that readings, which existed in the fifth century, have been omitted in later manuscripts, and this might be the fate of many, that were really genuine. - When a reading therefore is found in only a single manuscript, as that for instance which I shall mention in describing the Codex Vindob. 3. or only in the quotations of the fathers, it is not for that reason to be immediately rejected.

Du Pin, in his *Dissert. prælimin. ad bibliâ sacra*, Tom. II. c. 3. Simon, in his *Dissertation sur les principaux Manuscrits du N. T.* printed at the end of the third volume of his *Histoire critique du N. T.* Mill and Küster, in their *Prolegomena to the New Testament*, Pfaff in his *Dissertatio de variis lectionibus N. T.* Bengel in his *Introductio in crisin T. T.* more particularly Wetstein in his *Prolegomena*, Treschow in his *Tentamen descriptionis codicum Vindobonensium N. T.* Griesbach in his *Symbolæ criticæ ad variarum N. T. lectionum collectionem*, and Matthæi in the prefaces to his edition of the N. T. give the best accounts of those manuscripts, which have been hitherto used, and collated with the text of the printed editions<sup>2</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

*Lectionaria, Euchologia.*

THERE are several manuscripts, which contain not whole books of the N. T. arranged in their usual order, but detached parts, appointed to be read on certain days in the public service of the church (*αναγνωσεις*), from which again whole books have been put together. They are called lectionaria, and are compounded, some of them of the four Gospels, others of the Acts and the Epistles: to the former was given the title *ευαγγελιον*, to the latter that of *αποστολος*<sup>1</sup>. See Du Fresne glossarium mediæ Græcitat, p. 100. 440, 441. If a Lectionarium contains both parts, it is termed *αποστολοευαγγελιον*. Whoever wishes to see a list of the lessons contained in the Lectionarium of the Acts and the Epistles, preserved in the University library at Gottingen, may have recourse to my Orient. Bibl. Vol. XI. p. 185—188<sup>2</sup>.

Cæteris paribus, a Lectionarium is not of equal value with a manuscript of the same antiquity, that contains the books of the New Testament complete, because in the former the text was frequently altered, according to the readings, which were most approved at the time when it was written. It is not however to be denied, that they sometimes have readings of great importance, of which the reader will find examples in the above-mentioned description of the Gottingen Lectionarium, p. 188—192. But in respect to the omission of a principal passage, such as 1 John v. 7. their evidence is of more weight than that of an ordinary manuscript<sup>3</sup>.

In the Lectionaria we frequently find the words, ‘Jesus spake,’ prefixed to the speeches of Christ in the Gospels, the expression *αδελφοι* in those epistles which were written to whole communities, and *τεκνον Τιμοθεε* in those to Timothy. This is no various reading, being merely designed for the officiating minister; but it has frequently happened, that these expressions have been



intruded from the *Lectionaria* into the copies of complete books, in which case they form a various reading, though a spurious one. No one has examined this kind of error with more accuracy than Matthäi: see for instance his notes on Luke vii. 31. *ειπε δε ο Κυριος*. Acts iii. 11. *κρατηντος δε τε ιαθεντος χωλῃ* (for *κρατηντος δε αυτη*)<sup>4</sup>. x. 21. *της απεσταλμενης απο Κορινθιῳ προς αυτον*<sup>5</sup> inserted after *της ανδρας*, because here a new lesson began, without which addition no one would have known to what persons the subject related. xxi. 8. *οι περι του Παυλου*. These are words, which are omitted in a very great number of manuscripts.

Another mistake, which we have reason to attribute to the *Lectionaria*, is remarked by Matthäi in his note to Luke xxii. 43, 44. The same lesson is sometimes a composition from two different Gospels, the consequence of which is, that in other manuscripts likewise there is copied in one Gospel what belongs to another, for instance the above-mentioned passage in the *Codex Leicester*<sup>6</sup> after Matth. xxvi. 39.

With respect to collecting readings from the *Lectionaria*, Matthäi, with a degree of bitterness against Wetstein, who has been less accurate on this head, gives the following rule: ‘many *lectionaria* have the same text of the Evangelists in two different lessons, but with different readings, words being found in the one, that are wanting in the other.’ This circumstance ought to be noted, for in consequence of its being neglected, the extracts from the *Lectionaria*, especially those made by Wetstein, are very uncertain: see for instance his note to Luke xxiii. 45<sup>8</sup>. It is true that, according to the above-mentioned rule, the collecting of readings from the *Lectionaria* is extremely irksome, nor can they be noted with the same brevity as those from other manuscripts, since it would be necessary to add, ‘thus in the former,’ ‘thus in the latter lesson’.

We find likewise in the Greek *Euchologia* several texts of the N. T. See for instance that published at Venice, *παρά Νικολαι Γλυκει*, 1684. p. 437.—481. *αποσ-*

τοὺς εὐαγγέλια τὰ ὅλα ἐνιαυτοῦ. and 481—492. εὐαγγέλια ἰωδὶνα ἀναστασία. Matthäi has given extracts from one of these Euchologia, though a very modern one, at the end of St. John's Gospel: but this appears to be a superfluous burden in sacred criticism, under which the inquirer must at last sink.

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### S E C T. III.

*Of the division of the manuscripts into different classes, and of what is called the Fœdus cum Græcis.*

**W**E must not suppose that all the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are of equal value, and in summing up their evidence, we must not immediately determine in favour of that reading, which is confirmed by the greatest number of voices.

I have spoken above of the manuscripts which Knittel calls *Codices critici*, which are not taken from one only, but from several manuscripts, the transcribers having adopted those readings, which appeared to them to be the best. Such manuscripts have less authority, considered as evidence, for though it appears from them, that some more ancient manuscript had this or that particular reading, yet we are unable to judge of that more ancient manuscript, because they have not in all cases abided by its readings.

Some manuscripts are written with care, others with negligence: those which belong to the latter class, betray themselves in general by frequent omissions, or by the substitution of words of a similar sound and meaning, for words which other manuscripts shew to be genuine. These are of no authority, when the question relates to the omission of words or lines, or the determination between readings of a similar meaning. Those on the contrary have here the greatest weight, from whose orthographical mistakes it appears that the copyists

were unacquainted with Greek, and therefore incapable of introducing the above-mentioned errors.

Some manuscripts have constantly that reading, which is subject to the fewest difficulties, or certain words and lines, which in other approved manuscripts are omitted. It is evident that they proceeded from a transcriber, who ventured in various instances to alter the text. Such manuscripts have no right to a voice, when the question relates to readings of this nature.

Some manuscripts have not only the Greek text, but are accompanied with a version, which is either interlined, or in a parallel column: these are called *Codices bilingues*. The greatest number is in Greek and Latin, and the Latin version is in general one of those, which existed before the time of Jerom. As we have Syriac-Arabic, and Gothic-Latin manuscripts, it is probable that there existed formerly Greek-Syriac, Greek-Gothic, and other manuscripts of that kind, in which the original and some version were written together. They are for this reason remarkable, because not only one version might be easily altered from another, but even the Greek text itself from the translation, with which it was accompanied.

Many versions, notwithstanding their frequent and often greater coincidence with the readings of ancient manuscripts, have remained in general free from censure, but to the *Codices Græco-Latini* the charge has been laid, that the Greek text has been altered throughout from the Latin; and the accusation has not been confined to these alone, but has been extended to many other manuscripts, the readings of which coincide with the Latin, not excepting the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which was written in Egypt, a country belonging to the Greek diocese, and where Latin was in general unknown. This matter is of the more importance, because in the number of manuscripts, which have been thus accused, as well simply Greek, as Greek and Latin, are precisely the most ancient, which we should naturally prefer, on account of their venerable antiquity, to all others: but

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if the charge be grounded, the most important and most ancient witnesses are deprived of the right of giving evidence, and we have no other resource than those, which are modern. Whoever wishes to examine the principal authors on this subject, may consult the *Histoire du texte du N. T.* ch. 30—32. and the *Dissertation critique sur les manuscrits du N. T.* by Simon, who has given the most learned, and the very best account for the age in which he lived: my late father's *Tractatio de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, § 80—98. and Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, in a great variety of places, which are too numerous to be here mentioned. The two latter have been the principal accusers of what are called *Latinizing Manuscripts*, especially Wetstein, from whose authority the accusation received very general credit. The two principal advocates in their favour are Griesbach and Woide, the former, in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, Vol. I. especially p. cx—cxvii. the latter, in his preface to the *Codex Alexandrinus*.

I formerly took part with the accusers, as appears from the former editions of this Introduction, but I have gradually altered my opinion, and am at present fully persuaded that the charge is ungrounded. I candidly confess, that Griesbach and Woide have greatly contributed to confirm me in this new opinion, though the alteration itself is rather the result of my own private reflexion, of a more careful examination of the readings of these manuscripts, and above all, of a diligent use of Hearn's edition of the *Acts of the Apostles*, from the Greek-Latin manuscript called *Codex Laudianus*, in which the two texts are written in parallel columns.

But I would not be understood to assert, that the Greek text has in no case been altered from the Latin, since any version whatsoever, that stood in high authority, might sometimes have had this influence; for even Erasmus, in his edition of the *Greek Testament*, altered many passages from the Latin. In cases therefore where we have particular reason to suspect an alteration, I would by no means deny it, as for instance *Rom. i. 32.* where, after

the word expressive of *ἐπιγινώσκοντες*, the Latin version has in almost all copies *intellexerunt*, for which different Greek manuscripts<sup>2</sup>, even such as are of high antiquity, have the following different readings: *καὶ ἐνόησαν*, *καὶ ἐγνώσαν*, *καὶ συνήκαν*. This variety betrays a translation from the Latin.

But if we except the few passages, where there is some particular reason for suspecting a corruption, I am of opinion that the charge, which has been laid to these ancient and venerable manuscripts, which I shall severally describe in a following section, is ungrounded. For their coincidence with some one of the ancient Latin versions, affords no ground to conclude that the former have been corrupted from the latter, as this similarity may arise from a totally different cause, namely, that the Latin versions themselves were made from ancient Western manuscripts, which must of course resemble those, that were written in the West in the sixth and following centuries. The Latin versions are very ancient, and therefore made from very ancient manuscripts: it is no disgrace then to a Greek manuscript of the sixth or seventh century (for these are the most ancient now extant) or a proof of its corruption, if it coincides with one of the Latin versions. These are not only very numerous, but have many various readings, in which even the sense is totally different; it may therefore be reasonably expected, that an ancient Greek manuscript should coincide sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other; and if we had more remains of the old Latin versions, we should find these examples of coincidence still greater in number. But is this to be considered as a crime? and may we not ask with what particular version it is a fault to be allied? or is the contagion so general, that every Greek manuscript, which resembles them, must be considered as infected? The charge is really of too various a nature to be capable of support.

Many simply Greek manuscripts have readings, which have been called *Lectiones latinizantes*; shall we conclude then that even these have been interpolated from the

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the Latin, and is no limit to be fixed to the operation of this supposed contagion? Besides, we have other ancient versions, which have been made immediately from the Greek, such as the Syriac and the Coptic, which have frequently those very readings, that have formed the ground of accusation against the *Codices Græco-Latini*.

It is true that transcribers, in every age, might alter the Greek text in certain cases, according to the reading of the established version in the countries, where they lived; but we must not forget, that the old Latin church entertained different sentiments, with respect to the Latin version, from the more zealous advocates of the church of modern Rome, and that they had no motive for making such an alteration in all their manuscripts. It was at the instigation of Pope Damasus that Jerom corrected the Latin from the Greek, a circumstance universally known to the Western church; and as the prefaces of Jerom were at that time constantly prefixed to the Vulgate, it is very improbable that either transcribers, or the clergy, or the learned in general of those ages, should undertake with one voice to correct the Greek from the Latin, when they knew that the learned father had made the former the basis of his alterations in the latter.

Some of the manuscripts, exposed to this censure, were written in countries, which give the charge a very high degree of improbability, the Alexandrine manuscript for instance, which was written in a country that belonged to the Greek diocese, and where that language alone was spoken. It is surely improbable that any man, who lived in Egypt, would alter the Greek original from a Latin translation.

Many, or, to speak more properly, the greatest number of these censured manuscripts, coincide in an equal, if not higher degree, with the Syriac and Coptic, than with the Latin: no reason therefore can be assigned, why the suspicion should be referred to the latter, rather than to the former. The readings of the Cambridge manuscript are very frequently so like those of the Syriac version,

sion, that we might rather suppose it to have been altered from the Syriac, than from the Latin; yet this assertion has been made by no one, since every one sees its improbability. The remarkable coincidence with the Syriac and Coptic versions is a proof that such manuscripts, instead of being corrupted from the Latin, were faithfully taken from very ancient copies, which had readings, that are not extant in modern manuscripts; especially when we add, what Griesbach has remarked in several, that they have a striking affinity with the readings of Origen, whose copy of the Greek Testament was hardly corrupted from the Latin.

It appears from most of the Codices Græco-Latini, that the Latin version has been altered from the Greek text of that copy, to which it was annexed, for instance the Cod. Cant. and Laud. 3. The Latin version in these manuscripts, varies so materially from the other Latin versions, that there is much more reason to suspect an alteration in the Latin, than in the Greek, especially as the latter is placed in the first column. In reading the Acts of the Apostles, published by Hearne, from the Cod. Laud. 3. every one must observe, that the Latin has been frequently altered from the Greek, even at the expence of grammatical accuracy. But it would be foreign to the present purpose, to support these assertions by proofs and authorities, as the task has been already performed by Griesbach and Woide: but I shall take notice of some examples in the enumeration of the respective manuscripts,

Beside the more ancient alterations, which have been supposed to be made in the Greek text, it is asserted by many of the learned, that at the council of Florence held in 1439, with a view of establishing an union between the Greek and Latin churches, a resolution was formed, that the Greeks should alter their manuscripts from the Latin. In the second edition I defended this assertion, but the inquiries instituted by Goeze, in his Continuation of the Defence of the Complutensian edition of the New Testament, p. 40—75. have made me waver in  
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my opinion with respect to this article, which is termed by the learned, *Fœdus cum Græcis*. Those who would have more information on this subject, may consult the above-mentioned treatise; it will not however be improper to quote the words of some of the principal authors, who have engaged in this controversy.

Erasmus says<sup>a</sup>, *Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, esse Græcorum quosdam novi testamenti codices ad Latinorum exemplaria emendatos. Id factum est in fœdere Græcorum cum Romana ecclesia quod fœdus<sup>b</sup> testatur bulla, quæ dicitur aurea. Visum enim est hoc ad firmandam concordiam pertinere. Et nos olim in hujusmodi codicem incidimus, et talis adhuc dicitur asseruari in bibliothecâ Pontificiâ. Verum ex his corrigere nostros, est Lesbiam, ut aiunt, admovere regulam. Illud potius spectandum quid legerint veteres Græci, Origenes, Athanasius, Basilus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus, ac Theophylactus. Hoc eo visum est admonere quod jam nunc quidam jactitant, se trecenta loca notasse e codice pontificiæ bibliothecæ, in quibus ille consonat cum nostrâ vulgata editione, cum mea dissonat.* Erasmus has this remark, in the edition of 1535, and even in the fourth edition of 1527, in his note to Luke x. i. though in different words. But it does not appear whence he has taken his account, no traces of it are to be discovered in the history of the council of Florence, the most learned catholics, who have been able to obtain the best information<sup>c</sup>, Simon and Blanchini, absolutely deny it; and the latter, in a book published under the authority of the Pope, calls a correction of this nature ‘*emendationem vel potius depravationem*,’ which, he says, Greek parasites perhaps may

<sup>a</sup> In the fifth edition of the New Testament, printed in 1535, in the *Capita argumentorum contra morosos quosdam et indoctos*. I had followed Blanchini, and quoted it as in the fourth edition, but Goeze has corrected the mistake.

<sup>b</sup> He quotes therefore the golden Bull, as a proof of the *Fœdus cum Græcis*, not of the agreement to alter the Greek text from the Latin.

<sup>c</sup> See Goeze’s Defence, p. 44—50.



may have privately attempted in Italy. Now it is very possible that Erasmus had seen some such manuscript, that had been altered from the Latin, but it is mere conjecture that the alteration was made in consequence of the *Fœdus cum Græcis*. He was at that time occupied with a defence of his own editions, and Goeze has shewn it to be probable, that this was intended as an answer to an objection made by Sepulveda, in a letter dated Nov. 1, 1533, (which Goeze has reprinted, p. 56—58) where he speaks of 365 false readings. It is not improbable therefore that Erasmus in his answer asserted too much, as we seldom think so coolly in disputation as at other times, and Erasmus was not endued with the gentle manners of Sepulveda. His remark on Luke x. i. is certainly erroneous, or he must have understood by the title *Fœdus cum Græcis*, something different from the proposed union between the two churches at the council of Florence, for he writes, *quasi nesciamus post Græcos in concordiam Romanæ sedis receptos, et codices illorum ad latinorum exemplaria fuisse emendatos. Quorum de numero multis argumentis fuisse colligo codicem illum literis majusculis descriptum.* Now it appears, on comparing this passage with that in his *Capita*, that he means the famous *Codex Vaticanus*, but this was written undoubtedly many ages prior to the council of Florence, being one of the most ancient manuscripts now extant<sup>3</sup>.

There is an answer of Sepulveda to Erasmus, dated May 23, 1534, which some consider as the most important evidence in favour of the above-mentioned agreement, others as a proof of the contrary: this arises partly from the obscurity of Sepulveda's expressions, partly through the want of being in possession of the letter of Erasmus. That the reader may judge for himself, I will transcribe the whole of what relates to this subject. *Quod pertinet ad librum pontificium<sup>d</sup>, Græcos codices N. T. Græcorum quorundam vel malitia vel levitate fuisse depravatos id ipsum quod scribis fides est indubitata, quod in Græcorum ad sanitatem redeuntium fœ-*  
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<sup>d</sup> Codicem Vaticanum.

dere cautum fuerit\*, ut Græci codices ad Romanam<sup>f</sup> lectionem emendarentur, quomodo enim poterant clarius utrique contestari, exemplaria Romana lectionem veram et germanam retinere, Græcorum esse vitiosa? Nam quod ais, græcam lectionem ex græcis auctoribus esse petendam, diceres aliquid si rationem Græci sermonis affirmares a Græcis commodius quam a Latinis explicari: at libros archetypos, fundamenta nostræ religionis continentes, cur non credamus sanctius, gravius et incorruptius asservatos esse in scriniis ac bibliothecis ecclesiæ Romanæ, quæ caput est Christianorum, et semper fuit norma catholicæ pietatis, quam in Græcia, quæ sæpe fuit hæreticorum et levissimorum hominum fraudibus et motu rerum novarum agitata. Quod accidisse certum est in LXX decretis concilii Nicæni, quæ cum integra in scriniis ecclesiæ Romanæ asservarentur, tamen ad Orientem in quibusdam ecclesiis incensa sunt, in aliis ad minorem numerum redacta, sublatis videlicet quæ ipsorum conciliis et conatibus obstare videbantur, ut Athanasius, et cæteri episcopi ex Alexandrinâ synodo ad Marcum Papam conqueruntur, a quo exemplum decretorum ipsorum, quod petebant, receperunt. Adde quod libri tutiores ab injuriis esse solent, et minus a parum doctis scholia sæpe cum scripturis confundentibus vitari, ubi a paucioribus vel leguntur vel intelliguntur, nisi forte hoc dicis placuisse in fœdere, ut dictio Græca emendaretur ad Latinam, quod nec est probabile, præterquam in certo aliquo loco<sup>h</sup>, et nunquam factum fuisse

\* Some understand by this clause, 'provision was made that the Greek manuscripts should be corrected,' but Goeze, p. 71. explains it, 'provision was made that the Greek manuscripts should not be corrected,' an explanation to which I cannot subscribe. Blanchini, probably through mistake, has printed ne instead of ut: it seems as if he took the words in the same sense as Goeze, that he retained in his memory their meaning, which he expressed more clearly in other words.

<sup>f</sup> It is uncertain whether the Roman Vulgate, or the Vatican copy of the Greek text, is here meant. It appears to me, that Sepulveda himself doubted what sense he should ascribe to the expression of Erasmus<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> I am unable to comprehend the meaning of these words. Perhaps the true reading is 'incerto' in one word, in which case the sense would be,

iffe certum habeo: nam articulum, quem citas ex aureâ bullâ, licet duas aureas bullas in libro conciliorum perlegerim, invenire nusquam potui<sup>1</sup>. Quam igitur dicas, et unde nobis petenda sit, obsecro te ne graveris ad nos perscribere. The beginning of this quotation I understand as follows: 'With respect to the manuscript in the Pope's library, it follows, from the account which you have given me, that Greek manuscripts have been corrupted by the malice or levity of certain Greeks, since you say, that in the articles of agreement made with the Greeks, who were on the point of returning to the true faith, it was resolved that the Greek manuscripts should be corrected according to the Roman readings<sup>6</sup>. For how could both parties give a stronger proof that the Roman readings were genuine, and the Greek corrupted?' Sepulveda then, before he had received this letter from Erasmus, had never heard of this article in the *Fœdus cum Græcis*, and it appears that he takes it upon trust, and draws conclusions from it against Erasmus. He appears, at the same time, to be in doubt what should serve as a basis for the correction of the Greek text, whether ancient, and correct manuscripts in the Pope's library, or the Vulgate: he not only mentions the latter as highly improbable, but challenges Erasmus to quote the passage, where he has found it.

The only inference to be deduced from these premises is, that the pretended agreement in the *Fœdus cum Græcis* is a mere conjecture of Erasmus, to which he had recourse, as a refuge in a matter of controversy. At the

be: 'it is not probable that an order should have been given to correct Greek manuscripts from the Latin, unless it were in dubious passages, where a very ancient version alone could determine which of the various readings of the Greek text was the true one<sup>5</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> It seems that Sepulveda understood the expression in the letter of Erasmus, in the same sense as many understand it in the passage which I have above quoted, namely, that Erasmus cited the golden Bull, as a proof of the agreement made to alter the Greek text from the Latin. See above Note (b).

the same time I admit, what is asserted by Blanc'ini<sup>k</sup>, and not denied by Goeze, that Greek parasites, who after the taking of Constantinople were obliged to seek their bread in Romish countries, undertook alterations in the Greek text, through a mistaken zeal for the church of Rome. But this circumstance can affect only those manuscripts, which were written after the year 1453, and which in other respects are entitled to no authority, for instance the Cod. Montfortianus, and Ravianus. Fortunately, however, the manuscripts of this description are very few in number, and were we not in possession of these two, we should hardly have known that any alterations had been made. In regard to the accusation of Erasmus, it is extraordinary that it should have been made, not only without evidence, but by the very man, who himself is the most exposed to the charge, since in his edition of the Greek Testament, a very great number of passages were altered, merely on the authority of the Latin, which alterations have been transmitted to later editions, though ratified by no Greek manuscript.

Every man, who is acquainted with the various readings of the N. T., must observe, that certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other, and that their text is distinguished by characteristic marks, from that of others. It is evident that two manuscripts, of which the one is a copy of the other, are entitled only to one voice: if this affinity be found in manuscripts, of which the one is not copied from the other, it must be explained on the principle, that they are derived from a common source. Bengel, in his *Introductio in crisin* N. T. § 27—30. expresses this relationship by the word *familia*, but Griesbach uses the term *recensio*<sup>l</sup>, that is, edition, a word which I shall adopt in this Introduction. These editions depend on the diversity of time and place. If the text of the Greek Testament has in the course of ages been altered, either through neglect, or by pre-  
tended

<sup>k</sup> His expression is *Græculum parasitum in Italia versatum id ultro clanculum fecisse*.——*Evangelium quadruplex*, Tom. I. p. 495.

tended corrections, we must expect to find in modern manuscripts, readings which exist not in the more ancient, and these, by reason of their antiquity, will resemble each other, because they had not the readings, which were afterwards introduced; and they are entitled to the preference, even though the later alterations should discover the greatest judgement and penetration. It must be remarked at the same time, that a manuscript, written in a later century, may properly belong to an ancient edition; for instance, a manuscript of the twelfth century, if it be a faithful copy of one written in the sixth or eighth century. This is really the case with some of our manuscripts, which, though themselves of no high antiquity, have the readings of those, which are most ancient.

A diversity of country will likewise produce a diversity in the editions. It appears from the subscriptions of very many manuscripts, of which we are in possession, that they were written on Mount Athos, where the monks employed themselves in writing copies of the Greek Testament: here then it is reasonable to suppose; that all the manuscripts, which come from that quarter, must resemble each other, since the transcribers hardly took the pains to procure copies, the readings of which differed from those which were in common use: but at the same time it is possible, that a manuscript might have been brought thither from some distant country, and there copied anew. As different countries had different versions, according to their respective languages, the West of Europe, where Latin, the North where Slavonian was spoken, likewise Egypt, Syria, or to speak more properly, Osrhoene, the manuscripts of those countries must necessarily resemble the respective versions, not because the former have been altered from the latter, but because the versions were made from such manuscripts, as were in common use in those respective districts. In forming a judgement therefore of the editions of different countries, we must compare with the manuscripts both the versions of those countries, and

the quotations of those fathers, who lived and wrote there. It is hardly necessary to remark that age, and country, will be sometimes at variance with each other, and that an edition, especially the Byzantine, will sometimes vary in both: likewise that the principal editions; into which the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are divided, are again capable of subdivisions: for these are remarks which must occur of themselves to every reader.

No man has deserved so highly of the public, in regard to the arrangement of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament under their respective editions, as Griesbach. See particularly his *Symbolæ criticae*, p. cxvii—cxii. where he has promised a more complete account in his second volume. He assumes the three following principal editions. 1. The Western edition. 2. The Alexandrine edition. 3. The Byzantine edition, or, as he likewise not improperly terms it, the Eastern edition; but in the following statement I will avoid this expression, because there was a still more Eastern edition, which has been copied most frequently in the extremity of the West.

It appears to me, that there have existed four principal editions:

1. The Western edition, or that formerly used in countries where the Latin language was spoken, for our modern manuscripts have been chiefly brought from Greece. With this edition coincide the Latin version, which was made from it, more especially as it stood before the time of Jerom, and the quotations of the Latin fathers, not excepting those who lived in Africa, though Jerom, in his correction of the Vulgate, made frequent use of manuscripts, that were written in Greece. We may in some measure assume a two-fold Western edition, one of which has a striking affinity with the Syriac version.

2. The Alexandrine, or Egyptian edition. With this, as might be naturally expected, coincide the quotations of Origen, which Griesbach has collated with very particular care, as also the Coptic version.

3. The

3. The Edessene edition, which comprehends those manuscripts, from which the old Syriac version was made. Of this edition we have at present no manuscripts, a circumstance by no means extraordinary, when we recollect that the Syriac literati had an early prejudice for whatever was Grecian, and that the East, during many ages, that elapsed after the fifth century, was the seat of war and devastation. But by some accident, which is difficult to be explained, we find manuscripts in the West of Europe, accompanied even with a Latin translation, such as the Codex Bezae, which so eminently coincide with the Syriac version, that their relationship is not to be denied. The new Syriac version belongs not properly to this edition, because manuscripts were used from the library of Alexandria.

All these three editions, though they sometimes differ in their readings, harmonize very frequently with each other. This is to be ascribed in a great measure to their high antiquity, for our oldest manuscripts belong to one of these editions, and the translations themselves are very ancient. A reading, confirmed by the evidence of all these three editions, is supported by the very highest authority, but it must not be considered as infallible, since the true reading may be sometimes found only in the fourth. As these three editions themselves vary at times materially from each other, we may conclude that alterations, or pretended improvements, were made in a very early age in the Greek text, which were different in different countries. To the foregoing may be added,

4. The Byzantine edition, or that in general use at Constantinople, after this city was become the capital and metropolitan See of the Eastern empire. With this edition, those of the neighbouring provinces were closely allied. Though we have no proofs with respect to Asia Minor, no doubt can be made that they belonged to this principal edition; the greatest number of manuscripts, written on Mount Athos, are evidently of the Byzantine edition, and the same may probably be said of almost all Greece, and of the islands, not excepting perhaps

perhaps the Rhodian manuscript, which, though highly celebrated, is to us totally unknown. It is certain, or at least highly probable, that almost all the Moscow manuscripts, of which Matthäi has given extracts, came originally from these countries, and belong therefore to this edition, or, to speak more properly, to the later Byzantine edition, since none of them is more ancient than the eleventh century. To this edition are likewise to be referred the quotations of Chrysostom, and Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria, with the Slavonian, or Russian version: among these is observed a very frequent coincidence.

Since many alterations were unavoidably made, in the series of years that elapsed between the fourth and fifteenth centuries, we may divide the Byzantine edition into the ancient, and the modern. The readings of the Byzantine edition are those which are commonly found in our printed text of the Greek Testament, which varies very frequently from those of the three first editions<sup>8</sup>.

It must be further remarked, that a manuscript has not necessarily the readings that were most usual in the province in which it was written, for it may be a copy of one brought by accident from a distant country. Manuscripts likewise, which contain the whole of the N. T., may in different parts follow different editions. Griesbach has observed, that the Codex Alexandrinus follows in the Gospels the Byzantine edition, in the Epistles of St. Paul the Alexandrine, in the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles, the Western edition<sup>9</sup>. Lastly, the more modern the manuscripts, the less pure is the edition, as they contain a mixture of readings from several editions.



## S E C T. IV.

*Further division of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament.*

**F**ew Manuscripts contain the whole New Testament, which transcribers have generally divided into three parts, the first containing the four Gospels, the second the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, the third the Revelation of St. John. The greatest number are those which contain the first part; those which have the second, or the first and second together, are likewise numerous, but those of the third are extremely few. To this must be added, that in many manuscripts are omitted those epistles, whose divine authority was formerly doubted. We must not therefore conclude, that this or that known manuscript has the reading of the printed text, because it is not quoted among the number of those, which have a different reading; for it is possible that the book itself, of which the passage in question is a part, may be wanting in that manuscript. To prevent mistakes of this kind, every critic should have a table of the contents of each manuscript. Besides, the ancient manuscripts have many chasms, whole leaves and sheets being frequently wanting: it is necessary therefore that a critic be acquainted with these chasms, since he might otherwise conclude that a manuscript, not quoted for a various reading, coincided with the printed text, though the passage itself having been erased, it could afford no evidence, either for or against the reading. This observation may be especially applied to such manuscripts, as contain not whole books, but only fragments.

The collectors of various readings would have prevented a variety of mistakes, which without the very best memory are unavoidable, in respect to these chasms, if they had quoted not only the manuscripts which deviated from, but likewise those which confirmed the common text. This accuracy has been observed in no critical edition of the Greek Testament, though it would enable us to examine the whole evidence at a single view.

view. An edition, founded on these principles, would be of great value in sacred criticism; but as it would be necessary to collate anew the manuscripts, which have been already examined, the undertaking would be too great for any single person, unless he were enabled, as Kennicott by the liberality of the English, to call in the aid of many of the learned.

The more or less frequent use which has been made of the manuscripts, is another ground of division, which it is necessary to observe, because without this distinction, we shall be exposed to the danger of quoting manuscripts in favour of a reading, at the very time when their evidence is in favour of the contrary.

1. There are many manuscripts which have been examined only for a single text, such as 1 John v. 7. or at the utmost for a very few. Even in Wetstein's catalogue of the manuscripts, used in his edition of the Greek Testament, are several of this kind: we must not therefore conclude, because Wetstein has described, in his Prolegomena, seventy-one manuscripts of the epistles of St. Paul, that thirty-six are in favour of some particular reading, when thirty-five are quoted against it.

2. There are other manuscripts which have been examined from the beginning to the end, but not completely, and in respect to all the readings. The critics, who have used them, have extracted only such as appeared to them to be genuine, or, if not genuine, at least worthy of notice: at other times, those only have been selected, which answered some particular purpose; as for instance, in the edition of the Greek Testament by Goldhagen, the editor extracted from the manuscript preserved at Molsheim, those readings only which harmonize with the Vulgate, in opposition to the printed Greek text. In this case, a critic renders his own evidence in some respects inadmissible, for since he quotes only one species of readings, it is impossible to form an adequate judgement of the whole, and to determine whether these readings are to be referred to those which

have been corrupted from the Vulgate, or being themselves genuine, confirm those of the Vulgate.

3. The third class consists of such as either have been, or at least are said to have been, completely and accurately collated. This is so difficult an undertaking, and requires not only such good eyes, but so much phlegmatic patience, that we can hardly expect to find in critical catalogues, all the various readings of a manuscript which has been only once collated. On a new revision, not only omissions, but errors are generally found in the preceding catalogues; and Wetstein, in collating many manuscripts anew, made discoveries which had wholly escaped the notice of his predecessors.

4. The fourth class consists of such as have been completely and accurately collated more than once, of whose various readings, therefore, we have more reason to expect a perfect catalogue. But here again we are in danger of falling into an evil, for which the fifth class alone, which I shall presently mention, can afford a cure. When various readings are transferred from one critical edition to another, as from that of Gregory to Mill's edition, and from the latter to those of Bengel and Wetstein, it is unavoidable that the manuscripts should be sometimes falsely named, at other times various readings omitted: and as Wetstein has marked by cyphers, manuscripts that in former editions had been denoted by the initial letters, he could hardly avoid substituting, in some cases, one figure instead of another. These are inaccuracies, which not only may, but actually have happened. To this must be added, that in one critical edition, perhaps those manuscripts only are quoted, whose readings differ from the text of that edition; that in a subsequent edition, a different text is chosen as the basis, the editor of which neglects to mention those manuscripts which differ from his text, because they coincide with that of his predecessors; whence it follows, that those extracts, which in the first edition were accurate and complete, are in the following edition not only imperfect, but sometimes false.

5. The fifth class, which is by far the most valuable, consists of such as have been printed word for word, and form therefore an original, unmixed edition of the Greek Testament. We can boast only of very few manuscripts of this kind. Hearne printed at Oxford, in 1715, the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and Latin, from the Codex Laudianus 3.; Knittel has annexed to his edition of Ulphilas, p. 53—118. a copy of two very ancient fragments, preserved in the library of Wolfenbüttel, the one of the four Gospels in general<sup>2</sup>, the other of St. Luke and St. John<sup>3</sup>; Woide printed in 1786; the Codex Alexandrinus, line for line, with types cast for that purpose, and perfectly similar to the original manuscript; and the University of Cambridge has resolved to publish, in a similar manner, the Cod. Cant. I., or, as it is sometimes called, the Codex Bezae, the care of which is intrusted to Dr. Kipling, a publication which will be thankfully received by every friend to sacred criticism<sup>4</sup>. It was the intention of the Abbé Spoletti, a few years ago, to publish the whole of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus; which would likewise have been a most valuable accession, since a more important manuscript is hardly to be found in all Europe. He delivered for this purpose a memorial to the Pope; but the design was not put into execution, either because the Pope refused his assent, or the Abbé abandoned it himself. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXII. No. 333. and Vol. XXIII. No. 348<sup>5</sup>.

Accurate and complete impressions, of such ancient and important manuscripts, would be of great value, not only in points of criticism, but to our religion itself. By these means, very numerous errors might have been avoided, and our collection of readings, which at present is very imperfect, might have been rendered complete: copies of manuscripts, printed like the Codex Alexandrinus, which perfectly resembles the original, would contribute in a very eminent degree to the advancement of biblical criticism; and without this assistance, we have reason to fear, that in a couple of centuries

ries our collection of readings will fall into such confusion, as to render it necessary to collate again the manuscripts which have been already examined. If several editions, like that of Wettstein, should hereafter be published, it is probable that so much inaccuracy will arise, from the errors of transcribers, and printers, that it will be always necessary to have recourse to the more ancient editions; and even this will be attended with no absolute certainty, as it may be difficult to determine, whether the new editor neglected by mistake to quote a manuscript, or whether he omitted it by design, as having been improperly quoted by the former editor. Examples of this nature I have found in Wettstein, where he has omitted readings, that are contained in Mill's edition, without mentioning that Mill was mistaken.

A very valuable library might be composed of the impressions of ancient manuscripts, which, though too expensive for a private person, should be admitted into every University collection, especially the Alexandrine and Cambridge manuscripts, to which I would add, if it were now possible to procure it, Hearne's edition of the *Codex Laudianus* 3. A plan of this sort could be executed only in England, by a private subscription, where a zeal is frequently displayed in literary undertakings, that is unknown in other countries; and it were to be wished that the project were begun, before length of time had rendered the manuscripts illegible, and the attempt therefore fruitless. Ten thousand pounds would go a great way toward the fulfilling of this request, if the learned themselves did not augment the difficulty of the undertaking, by adding their own critical remarks, and endeavouring thereby to recommend their publications, rather than by presenting to the public a faithful copy of the original. Should posterity be put in possession of faithful impressions of important manuscripts, an acquisition which would render the highest service to sacred criticism, all these editions of the New Testament should be regulated on the same plan as Hearne's edition of the Acts of the Apostles.

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On the other hand, impressions of modern manuscripts would be not only useless, but even burdensome, such for instance as that which Eschenbach proposed to publish, with the addition of various readings from six other manuscripts. We know nothing more of it, than that it was brought from Constantinople, and written before the year 1391: he abandoned however his design, which is no loss to biblical criticism<sup>1</sup>.

Lastly, may be mentioned those manuscripts, from which the learned have given extracts, without describing the manuscripts themselves, so as to distinguish them from others. It was the ancient mode of quoting, to say simply, Codex, or Codices; and though critics mentioned the number of manuscripts which they used, yet in the quotation of readings, that differed from the common text, they neglected to determine what particular reading was taken from each particular manuscript. To this class belong the twenty-two manuscripts collated by J. Matthæus Caryophilus, by order of Pope Urban VIII. namely; ten for the four Gospels, eight for the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and four for the Revelation of St. John: these I shall describe in the sequel, under the title of Codices Barberini, to which may be added the Codices Velefiani. It is impossible to form an adequate judgement of readings extracted in this manner, because we have not sufficient knowledge of the evidence itself, and are unable to decide, whether a particular reading is the result of negligence in the writer of the manuscript, whether it is an intended correction, or whether he actually found it in the ancient copy, from which he transcribed. Manuscripts, collated in this manner, may be considered almost in the same light as those which have never been collated, since we have no criterion to distinguish them from others; and should they be again applied to the purposes of criticism, a new collation would be absolutely necessary;

<sup>1</sup> It contains the whole New Testament, except the book of Revelation. See Schoenleben's *Notitia codicis, quem Norimbergæ servat Hieron. Guil. Ebner ab Eschenbach. Norimbergæ 1738.*

necessary : at least, in summing up the number of witnesses, for or against a reading, anonymous manuscripts cannot be reckoned, without our being exposed to the danger of counting one and the same evidence as two. Every manuscript, that is entitled to a voice, must have a name, or a mark of distinction, were it only the title *Codex meus*, which the proprietor ascribes to it ; it is likewise necessary to know the number of books which it contains, and the place where it was kept at the time of collation. It is not my intention to prescribe the rules, which ought to be observed by a critic in his description of a manuscript ; but only to mention those marks of distinction, which are absolutely necessary, because if they are neglected, a manuscript, though collated with the utmost accuracy, is of no more value to posterity, than one that has been never used<sup>6</sup>.

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## S E C T. V.

*Of manuscripts hitherto uncollated.*



**A** Description of all the manuscripts of the New Testament, which have never been used for the purposes of criticism, and which lie buried in the different libraries of Europe, would be a task, to which my abilities are unequal, since, without printed catalogues, it is impossible to know the treasures which each library contains. An inquiry of this kind would be likewise foreign to an Introduction to the New Testament: but if a literator, who had made a study of this branch of knowledge, would in a particular treatise favour the world with his discoveries, we should derive from it very great advantage, especially in the publication of a new edition of the Greek Testament, because many valuable manuscripts are often neglected, for no other reason, than that we are unacquainted with the place in which they are preserved<sup>1</sup>.

But

But those which are of little value, and even such as occupy a middle rank, if their readings coincide with the common printed text, are hardly entitled to a collation; an augmentation of the number of modern manuscripts, whose evidence is generally the same, is attended with no advantage, and is besides a cumbrous weight for every critic. It is not my intention to assert, that every modern manuscript is to be rejected without examination, which is necessary, in order to save others the same trouble; but I mean to assert, that our collections of various readings ought not to be unnecessarily swelled, and that future editors might, without being exposed to censure, omit the readings of inferior manuscripts, and of such as have a general coincidence.

On the contrary, ancient and important manuscripts, which lie concealed in libraries, especially in those of Italy, deserve our particular attention, and none in so eminent a manner, as those which are distinguished by readings, that coincide with the ancient versions, or the quotations of the ancient fathers. Here we have a field before our eyes, where much remains to be performed.

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## SECT. VI.

*Of the manuscripts that have been used in editions of the Greek Testament.*

MILL and BENDEL have noted their manuscripts by initial letters, writing for instance Al. for Alexandrinus; but several mistakes have arisen in these abbreviations, which Wettstein, in his *Prolegomena*, has sometimes noticed, and corrected. He has himself marked the ancient manuscripts with the letters A.B.C. &c. and those, which he held to be more modern, with cyphers, from 1 to 112; a mode of notation which frequently exposes us to error, since it is more difficult for the memory to retain the figures, which denote each manuscript, than an abbreviation of their names; and  
he



he has rendered this difficulty still greater, by not retaining the same marks throughout the whole work, for his letters and figures have a different meaning in the epistles of St. Paul, from that which they have in the four Gospels; a still different meaning in the catholic epistles, and Acts of the Apostles; and, lastly, they are taken in a fourth sense, in the book of Revelation. Wettstein, who devoted his whole life to the study of these manuscripts, might retain these marks of distinction, but it is almost impossible for his readers. Besides, in letters and figures, errors of the press are more easily committed, and more difficult to be discovered and corrected. But as Wettstein is the principal collector of various readings, I shall mention, in the following catalogue, the figures by which he has noted each manuscript. Dr. Semler, in the third volume of his Introduction to the interpretation of the Bible, has delivered many observations on these manuscripts; but as I have not sufficient time to examine whether his quotations are accurate, I can make no use of his literary labours<sup>2</sup>.

Most of the manuscripts, which I shall describe in this section, have been quoted and described by Wettstein; a great part therefore is nothing more than an extract from his Prolegomena. But in order to take up as little room as possible, I shall avoid making references, either to his Prolegomena or those of Mill, because each manuscript may be easily found, by referring to their indexes.

1. Alexandrinus, which is noted by the letter A. in all the four parts of Wettstein's edition of the Greek Testament. As it would be inconvenient to interweave the additional matter, which I have at present to communicate, into the description, which I have already given of this manuscript in the third edition, the following account is written independently of the former, which I will subjoin at the end of this description, as it contains a variety of materials which may be useful to the reader.

Cyrrillus

Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, and Patriarch of Constantinople, whose life has been written by Smith, in a book entitled *De vita, studio, gestis, et martyrio Cyrilli Lucaris*, and briefly described by Woide, in the ninth paragraph of his *Prolegomena* to the edition of this manuscript, presented this MS. to Charles I. in 1628, by his ambassador in Constantinople. It was deposited in 1753, in the British Museum, with the rest of the royal library, an account of which may be seen in Woide's *Prolegomena*, § 26. Various disputes have arisen, with respect to its antiquity, whence it was brought, where it was written, and its real value. Some critics have bestowed on it all possible commendation, while it has been depreciated in an equal degree by others; nor has the honest donor, Cyrillus Lucaris himself been left unattacked, especially by Wetstein, who was one of its most strenuous adversaries.

Cyrillus procured the manuscript in Egypt, though this was doubted by Wetstein, because Matthæus Muttis, who was ordained deacon by Cyrillus, had said that it came from Mount Athos. But Wetstein's objections have been fully answered by Woide, in the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup> paragraphs of his *Prolegomena*<sup>1</sup>. According to all the accounts which Cyrillus had received, it was likewise written in Egypt, which is confirmed by the characteristic marks of the manuscript itself, not excepting those which relate to its orthography, as will appear from my former description, and from the 33<sup>d</sup> paragraph of Woide's Preface, who has found in it certain points which the Copts usually placed over particular letters. But some of his arguments are not convincing<sup>2</sup>, for instance, that which he derives from the exchange between *ε* and *α*, an error which is found in many manuscripts, and to be explained on the principle of an Itacism. But I can see no reason whatsoever to doubt that this manuscript, which takes its name from Alexandria, was really written in Egypt<sup>3</sup>. According to a Greek subscription, that was formerly visible in this manuscript, though at present, effaced, it was written by  
Thecla,

Thecla; an Egyptian lady of high rank, who lived soon after the council of Nicæa<sup>6</sup>; in the Arabic subscription she is called the Martyress Thecla, which is a manifest error, because the Martyress Thecla is placed in the time of St. Paul<sup>7</sup>. It is very possible, that a person of the name of Thecla may have written, if not the whole, at least a part of it, though we can place little dependence on such traditions of former subscriptions; but that the copyist lived as long ago as the council of Nicæa, is wholly incredible, for the manuscript cannot possibly be so ancient. Woide, who has himself transcribed and published it, and must therefore be better acquainted with it than any other person, asserts, in the 28<sup>th</sup> paragraph of his Preface, that it was written by two different copyists: he has observed even a difference in the ink, and, what is of more importance, even in the strokes of the letters. If the three principal parts of the New Testament were distinguished in this manuscript, by a difference in the hand-writing, the observation of Griesbach, which I shall presently mention, would be of great importance; but the place, where the one ceases, and the other commences, is in the middle<sup>8</sup>.

It is written with uncial letters, without marks of aspiration, accents, or intervals between the words. This shews its high antiquity, and that it was not written so late as the tenth century, which some of its adversaries have asserted. Of the points annexed to certain letters, which before appeared unintelligible; of the large initial letters, which are sometimes placed in a very extraordinary manner; of the abbreviations, of which however there are very few<sup>9</sup>, &c. a full account may be seen in Woide's Preface, who has given a very accurate description of the manuscript in general<sup>10</sup>. It consists of four folios, three of which contain the Old Testament, and the fourth the New Testament. See the account taken from the third edition, and the facsimile of Luke xvii. 4, placed, in Woide's edition, between the list of subscribers and the preface. Woide has likewise described the chasms more accurately than

I was able to do in the preceding edition of this Introduction.

That the antiquity of our manuscript cannot be precisely determined; that those who refer it to the fourth century, ascribe to it too great an age, and that they who place it in the tenth make it on the other hand by far too modern, as appears from the form of the letters and the general character of the manuscript itself, will be observed in the description taken from the third edition, where I have examined the arguments for and against its antiquity. Whoever would examine this subject with still greater accuracy, may consult Woide's Preface<sup>11</sup>, §41—59. who has likewise examined the arguments of the patrons and adversaries of its antiquity, without having seen what I had written on this matter in the third edition of this Introduction<sup>12</sup>. The result of my inquiries was the following; that the limits of the period in which it was written, cannot be confined to a space that is less than two hundred years: it cannot possibly be more ancient than the sixth century, and I would hardly venture to place it in that early age; but, on the other hand, it is equally impossible that it should be more modern than the eighth century. I would not allow it therefore the foremost rank among the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, not even in respect to its antiquity; nor would I denote it by the first letter of the alphabet, as Wetstein has done, (though in other respects he is no admirer of this manuscript) an honour to which it is as little entitled in respect to its internal excellence, and the value of its readings<sup>13</sup>.

These, which are the principal object of our inquiry, remain to be examined. It appears, from what has been said above, that our manuscript has been greatly and unjustly censured by some, while others have been equally lavish in their praises. The principal charge which has been laid to it, a charge chiefly propagated by Wetstein, is, that it Latinizes, or, that it has been altered from the Latin version; and because the coincidence is very frequent, the accusation found general credit. It might be

be sufficient to refer my readers to what I have said on this subject in general, in the third section of this chapter; but as this manuscript is of some importance, it is necessary to examine the charge which has been laid to it in particular<sup>14</sup>.

As it appears, from all the accounts which we have been able to gather, that it was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria itself, it is incredible that a transcriber, who lived in that country, should have altered the Greek text from a Latin version. Egypt belonged not to the Latin, but to the Greek diocese; and Latin was not understood there, except by those who had learnt it as a learned language. If we have recourse to the examples that are alleged as proofs, we shall find still less reason to believe that the charge is grounded, for the pretended Latinizing readings are found not only in other Greek manuscripts, but in ancient versions. One of the strongest proofs, and which formerly appeared to me of some importance, is the insertion of *δια πνευματος αγιου*, Acts iv. 25. a reading found in the Vulgate; so that the text of the Cod. Al. is *ο τε πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου στοματος Δαβιδ παιδος ου ειπων*. Now it is evident that the words in question are inserted in an improper place; but what reason is there to suppose that they were interpolated from the Latin in particular? Many other manuscripts quoted by Wettstein have the same words, and likewise improperly inserted, to which may be added the Moscow manuscript<sup>15</sup> noted l, which was certainly not altered from the Latin: its reading is *ο δια τε πατρος ημων εν πνευματι αγιω στοματος Δαβιδ παιδος ου*. The same words are found in the old Syriac and Coptic versions, though in a more proper place; but in the new Syriac they are inserted with the same impropriety as in the Alexandrine manuscript<sup>16</sup>. If therefore our manuscript has been corrupted from a version, it is more reasonable to suspect the Coptic, the version of the country in which it was written. We find likewise in the Coptic the very same inversion of the particle *μη*, 1 Cor. viii. 8. which gives a different, and even a better sense than the common text;

text; namely, the Coptic and Cod. Al. have *ετι γαρ εωμην φαγωμεν, περισσινουμεν, ετι, εαν φαγωμεν, υπερειμεθα*<sup>17</sup>. Now as this inversion is likewise found in some Latin manuscripts, it seems as if they had been altered from the Egyptian edition. I have observed in general a remarkable coincidence between this manuscript and the two following versions.

1. The Coptic. For instance, it is the only manuscript now extant that has the reading of the Coptic version<sup>18</sup>, *ενα καυχησωμαι*, 1 Cor. xiii. 3. a reading which in the time of Jerom was found in several manuscripts. This coincidence is such, as might be expected from a manuscript written in Egypt.

2. The Syriac, the evidence of which agrees in numberless instances with that of our manuscript. But I will select only a few readings of the Syriac, which are found either in the Cod. Al. alone, or at the utmost in one or two other manuscripts. For instance, the Syriac version and the Cod. Al. alone omit *αλλα*, Mark vii. 8. add *επι* after *μαρτυρωσι*, Acts xiv. 3. and have *δεξιοβολες*<sup>19</sup> for *διξιολαβες*, Acts xxiii. 23. The Syriac and the Cod. Al. with one or two other manuscripts, have *αυτοις* for *αυτας*, Acts x. 48. omit the second *και*, xii. 25. have *αυτοις* for *αυτα*, xxi. 4. and *εντε Ιερουσαλμοις* for *ω Ιερουσαλμοις*, xxvi. 4. which makes some alteration in the sense<sup>20</sup>. See the Curæ in Act. Apost. Syriacos, p. 152.

Griesbach has observed that this manuscript follows three different editions, the Byzantine in the Gospels, where its readings are of the least value, the Western edition in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic epistles which form the middle division of this manuscript, and the Alexandrine in the epistles of St. Paul<sup>21</sup>. The transcriber therefore copied the three parts of the Greek Testament from three different manuscripts, of three different editions. If this assertion be true, which I really believe, though I have not examined it myself, it is impossible to pronounce a general judgement on this manuscript.

If I had any charge to lay to the Cod. Alexandrinus,  
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it should be the following, that some of its readings have the appearance of scholia, or even corrections of the literati of Alexandria. For instance Rom. ii. 5. ἀνταποδοσιως<sup>22</sup> for ἀποκαλύψεως, a reading found in no other manuscript; but I am unable to produce other examples, though I have met with several, because I have neglected to note them.

No manuscript has been more frequently and more accurately collated, and there was reason to suppose that the last extracts, which were made by Wetstein would have rendered future labours of this kind superfluous; but we are informed by Woide, in the 25<sup>th</sup> paragraph of his preface, that Wetstein has been guilty of several omissions and several errors, and has sometimes admitted into his collection of readings the mistakes which had been made by Mill; a circumstance which Woide explains, on the supposition that Wetstein, after he had collated the manuscript himself, compared his own extracts with those of Mill, and supplied his own deficiencies from the latter, because he believed them to be accurate.

We are now in possession of a perfect impression of this manuscript, which is accompanied with so complete and so critical a collection of various readings, as is hardly to be expected from the edition of any other manuscript. Dr. Woide published it in 1786, with types cast for that purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, as in the manuscript itself: the copy is so perfect a resemblance of the original, that it may supply its place: its title is *Novum Testamentum Græcum e codice MS. Alexandrino qui Londini in bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur descriptum*; it is a very splendid folio, and the preface of the learned editor contains an accurate description of the manuscript, with an exact list of all its various readings, that takes up no less than eighty-nine pages, and each reading is accompanied with a remark, in which is given an account of what his predecessors Junius, Walton, Fell, Mill, Græbe and Wetstein had performed, or neglected.

*Descrip-*

*Description of the Codex Alexandrinus, as it stood in the third edition of this Introduction.*

My readers will excuse me, if I treat of this manuscript in a very prolix manner, because the opinions which have been formed of it, have material influence in our criticisms on the New Testament. For, as it varies from the common printed text more than most other manuscripts, and in such cases often agrees with the Latin version, the authority of the latter must increase, and that of the common Greek text diminish, if the Alexandrine manuscript be entitled to the commendations which have been bestowed on it by Mill, Bentley, Bengel, and the greatest number of Protestant writers. Mill says of it, § 1338, that the church has been in possession of nothing more valuable during the last 1200 years, and § 1341, that as this is the oldest manuscript now extant, it appears that no one ‘ab ipsis fere canonis incunabulis’ has contained a more true text of the writings of the Apostles. Bengel, in the 32<sup>d</sup> section<sup>m</sup> of his *Introductio in critin N. T.* has maintained the following position, *Alexandrini codicis et Latinæ versionis collatio unam, brevissimam, certissimam, et facillimam decidendi rationem, partim subministrat, partim ad eam deducit.* These words, which seem to convey more than is consistent with the truth, and are generally understood in a sense that the writer did not intend to express, he has explained in his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T.* His meaning is, not that those readings are necessarily genuine, in which the Alexandrine manuscript coincides with the Latin version, but that the foregoing rule may be considered as a mean of quieting the consciences of those who wish to clear up doubts in their own minds, without entering into the difficulties of sacred criticism. For he says, that both these resources extend to the whole of the New Testament, that the Latin version is understood by every man of education, and that the Alexandrine manuscript has been very accurately collated. He has

<sup>m</sup> P. 390. of the old edition, p. 24. of the new.



has likewise no objection to the substitution of another manuscript and another version to the two above-mentioned, as the means of discovering the true reading. Bengel himself became a critic through scruples of conscience<sup>a</sup>, and he wished to supply others, who were in the same situation, with rules that might contribute to their relief. But if it be true, as some have asserted, that the Alexandrine manuscript has been altered from the Latin, this rule of Bengel would lead rather to error than to truth.

A manuscript that has so much influence on sacred criticism, deserves to be treated more at large; but all that I can advance is only a small part of that which has been written by other men of learning on this subject. The accounts which have been given in detached passages by Hody, in his treatise *de biblicorum textibus originalibus*, by Grabe, in his *Prolegomena*, to the Septuagint, and by Lee, in his *Notitia codicis Alexandrini*<sup>o</sup>, relate chiefly to the Greek text of the Old Testament, but they may be of use in forming a judgement of the manuscript in general, and of its antiquity in particular. In opposition to Grabe's *Notitia*, Casimir Oudin published at Leyden, in 1717, *Trias Dissertationum Criticarum*, in which he argues against the antiquity of the Codex Alex. and contends that it was written so late as the tenth century, for the use of a monastery belonging to the order of Acœmets. But this treatise appears to have been written partly to serve the turn of a bookseller, and to promote the sale of Bos's edition of the Septuagint, which followed, or pretended to follow, the text of the Codex Vaticanus, partly, as Schulze supposes, through personal enmity to Grabe. Hichtel in his *Exercitatio critica de antiquitate et præstantia codicis Romani præ Alexandrino*, published at Jena in 1734, sides with Oudin; Schulze, on the contrary, or his respondent.

<sup>a</sup> See his *Apparatus Criticus*, p. 703. of the 2<sup>d</sup> edition, and Rathleff's *History of the Literati now living*, VI. p. 429<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> The treatises both of Grabe and Lee are printed in Brexinger's edition of the Septuagint.

dent Dietelmaier, in a thesis published at Halle in 1739, under the title *Dissertatio qua antiquitas codicis Alexandrini vindicatur novoque argumento confirmatur*, carries its antiquity so high as the fourth century. Bengel has greatly extolled it in the 32<sup>d</sup> section of his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* but my late father, in the 100<sup>th</sup> section of his *Tractatio de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, has made several objections to that position of Bengel which I quoted above; and at the same time contended that the Alexandrine manuscript was not free from alterations from the Latin. To the objections of my father, Bengel replied in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> sections of his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T. Græci tuendâ*. But no one has taken so much pains to depreciate this manuscript as Wetstein, in his *Prolegomena*<sup>24</sup>. Lastly, Dr. Semler has treated of this manuscript in a thesis, which was the subject of a disputation at which he presided, published at Halle in 1759, and entitled *Conjecturæ de ætate codices Alexandrini*; for though the thesis was drawn up by the respondent, it is certain that the assertions and discoveries which it contains are to be ascribed to Semler himself<sup>25</sup>. As so many of the learned have employed their pens on this manuscript, various conjectures have been unavoidably made, that rest on unstable ground; and those critics especially, who draw their arguments for its antiquity, and country, from the internal evidence of the text itself, seem to forget that it must have been copied from one that was still more ancient. The tokens of antiquity therefore, which they find in the text, and which are likewise alleged as proofs of its having been written in Egypt, may be used as arguments, that the ancient manuscript, of which the Alexandrine is a copy, was written in that age and in that country, but they lead to no positive conclusion in regard to the *Codex Alexandrinus* itself. This very just remark was made by Dr. Semler; but a partiality for this celebrated manuscript has been the reason that many of its friends have contented themselves with very unsatisfactory replies.

Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, well known in the ecclesiastical annals of the last century, whose partiality for the church of England drew on him the hatred of the catholics, which ended with his death, sent it as a present to Charles I. by the hands of his ambassador at the Porte, Sir Thomas Roe. In this manner it came to England, and it acquired the title *Alexandrinus*, because Cyrillus was said to have brought it from Alexandria, where he had been Patriarch. Wetstein doubted the truth of this relation, and believed it to have been taken from one of the two-and-twenty monasteries on mount Athos, on the credit of Matthæus Muttis, deacon of Cyrillus, who gave this account to J. Rudolph Wetstein the elder. But Cyrillus himself, in the words, which I shall presently quote, describes it as having been found in Egypt, and relates that, when the Christian religion was extirpated in Egypt, the name of Thecla was erased from the end of the manuscript. Now it is reasonable to suppose that Cyrillus must have been better acquainted with the place, from which the manuscript was brought, than his deacon Muttis<sup>26</sup>. But the question, where Cyrillus found it, is of less importance than that, where it was written: and of still less consequence the inquiry, which has been made by many of the learned, whether Cyrillus obtained it by purchase, or by present.

Though Wetstein has made it doubtful, whether the title *Alexandrine* is due to this manuscript in one sense of the word, he is of opinion that it is justly entitled to it in another, for he is persuaded from certain internal marks that it was written at Alexandria. This controversy is rendered important by the circumstance, that the country of this manuscript has material influence on the question, whether it latinizes or not; for many contend that this is hardly to be expected in a manuscript written in Egypt, while others, especially Dr. Semler, have endeavoured to shew at least its possibility<sup>27</sup>. I confess that I am of the same opinion, because the inquiry turns not so much on the *Codex Alexandrinus*, as on the  
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more ancient manuscript, of which this is a copy, For if this ancient manuscript latinized, the Cod. Alex. must do the same, in whatever country it was written : and since it is by no means necessary, that books constantly remain in the same country, and they may be transferred from one library to another, it is possible that latinizing copies were brought from Italy or the West of Africa into Egypt or Greece ; a faithful transcript therefore from any one of these would likewise latinize, though written in Constantinople, Greece, or Egypt. Besides, the Coptic and Sahidic versions have a striking coincidence with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which is likewise said to latinize ; if therefore a manuscript had been altered from the Coptic version, it would appear to do the same.

That the Codex Alexandrinus was written in Egypt, the following appears to me to afford a very probable argument. Ezekiel xxvii. 18. both in the Hebrew and Greek text, the Tyrians are said to have fetched their wine from Chelbon, *ex χελβων* ; that is, as Bochart explains it in his Hierozoicon Tom. I. p. 485, 486. from Chalybon. But as Chalybon, though celebrated for its wine, was unknown to the writer of this manuscript, he has altered it, by a fanciful conjecture, of which we find many instances, to *οινον ex χεβρων*, wine from Hebron. The impropriety of the alteration is manifest, because the subject relates to the produce of Damascus ; but it was probably made by an Egyptian copyist, because Egypt, which has itself very few vineyards, was formerly supplied with wine from Hebron, whence at this very day are yearly imported into Egypt at least a hundred tuns of Dibs, or grape-honey.

To the foregoing remarks may be added what Woide has mentioned in a letter dated April 21, 1772. Having collated a Sahidic version of the Acts of the Apostles for his Coptic Lexicon, he found that the characters of the Sahidic manuscript greatly resembled those of the Codex Alexandrinus, especially in that leaf of the Alexandrine manuscript which contains the catalogue of the books

books of the whole Bible, where the letters are somewhat larger, and not so round as in the text itself; or when those pages of the Sahidic manuscript be examined that are written with care, in which the similarity is greater than where they appear to have been written in haste. (See likewise Woide's preface § 33.)

The manuscript consists of four volumes, the three first of which contain the Old Testament, the fourth the New Testament together with the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of the second. In the New Testament, which alone is the object of our present inquiry, is wanting the beginning as far as Matth. xxv. 6. *ο θυμῳς ερχεται*, likewise from John vi. 50, to viii. 52. and from 2 Cor. iv. 13. to xii. 7<sup>th</sup>. It must likewise be observed, that the Psalms are preceded by the epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, and followed by a catalogue<sup>p</sup>, containing those, which are to be used in prayer for each hour, both of the day and of the night; also by fourteen hymns, partly apocryphal, partly biblical, the eleventh of which is an hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary, entitled *προσευχη μαριας της θεοτοκου*: further the Hypotheses Eusebii are annexed to the Psalms, and his Canones to the Gospels. It is true that this has no immediate reference to the New Testament, but may have influence in determining the antiquity of the manuscript itself.

It has neither accents nor marks of aspiration<sup>q</sup>, it is written with capital, or as they are called, uncial letters, and

<sup>p</sup> Κανὼνς ἡμερινοί, καὶ νυκτερινοί ψαλμῶν.

<sup>q</sup> Græbe says, eos in primis quidem, Genesios, capitibus recentior manus adpinxit: prima vero librarii manus per totum codicem rarius addidit. It were to be wished that he had noted those instances, where the first copyist has added these marks, for if they are really notes of aspiration, they must have influence in determining the antiquity of the manuscript, as well as on other questions. But Mill is of a contrary opinion, for he says, § 1340, notulas iis haud absimiles, quibus spiritum lenem repræsentant grammatici, quæ hic subinde occurrunt, idque ad finem vocum, aut supra literas consonantes, inter lusus calami habendas censeo. Now it would not have been improper, if in the copper-plates that have been given of the letters of this manuscript some notice had been taken of these marks. (See at present Woide's preface, sect. 33.)

and has very few abbreviations. There are no intervals between the words, but the sense of a passage is sometimes terminated by a point, and sometimes by a vacant space. Here arises a suspicion that the copyist did not understand Greek, because these marks are sometimes found even in the middle of a word, for instance Levit. v. 4. *ανομος. η* for *αν ομοση*, and Numb. xiii. 29. *μω Τους*. Some lines of this manuscript are exhibited in copper-plate in Grabe's Prolegomena to the Septuagint cap. i. § 6. in Rogall's dissertation de auctoritate interpunctionis in codice sacro N. T. and Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex P. I. on the reverse of the first of the plates, which are placed p. 492. from which the reader may judge of the form of the characters, and the antiquity of the manuscript.

Cyrillus himself has given the following account<sup>19</sup>; 'We know so much of this manuscript of the holy writings of the Old and New Testament, that Thecla an Egyptian lady of distinction (*nobilis femina Ægyptia*) wrote it with her own hand 1300 years ago'. She lived soon after the council of Nicæa. Her name was formerly at the end of the book, but when Christianity was subverted in Egypt by the errors of Muhammed, the books of the Christians suffered the same fate, and the name of Thecla was expunged. But oral tradition of no very ancient date (*memoria et traditio recens*) has preserved the remembrance of it'. It is difficult to decide whether this

<sup>19</sup> See Grabe's Prolegomena, cap. i. § 6.

<sup>20</sup> He wrote this in the year 1628. According to this account then, the manuscript must have been written in 328, a date to which so many weighty objections may be made, that its most strenuous advocates will hardly undertake to defend it. But this error has furnished Oudin with an opportunity of producing many arguments against the antiquity of the Codex Alexandrinus, which seem to imply that Grabe and others, who have referred it to the fourth century, suppose it to have been written in the above-mentioned year. Now it is probable, that the inference which has been deduced from the account of Cyrillus, is more than he himself intended to express, as he relates that Thecla lived after the council of Nicæa.

<sup>1</sup> Grabe's Prolegomena, cap. i. § 1.

this account be confirmed, or contradicted, by the subscription, which is written in Arabic on the reverse of the leaf which contains the list of the books of the Old and New Testament, 'It is said that this book was written by the martyress Thecla.' Now the martyress Thecla, who was a contemporary of St. Paul, cannot possibly have written the Codex Alexandrinus; and besides, she lived not 1300 but 1500 years before Cyrillus wrote this account. So far then the two accounts appear contradictory<sup>30</sup>, and Wetstein, who was not quite impartial in this affair, contended that the Patriarch falsely represented the tradition, in order to give it a greater degree of probability<sup>31</sup>. But the charge is really unjust, for Cyrillus appeals to a tradition respecting the subscription, which formerly stood at the end of the book, and which was either expunged or torn out, not to the Arabic subscription which is still extant. The person, who wrote the latter, had likewise heard that one Thecla was the transcriber, and being probably less acquainted with ecclesiastical history than Cyrillus, made an addition to the account which confutes itself, as the manuscript contains the epistles of Athanasius<sup>32</sup>.

On the other hand, I would by no means place absolute confidence in this tradition. Dr. Semler very properly observes, that there is no more reason to rely on a tradition respecting the transcriber of an ancient manuscript, than on a tradition that relates to an ancient relick. Nor will I take up the reader's attention by inquiring who this Thecla was, to whom we are indebted for the Codex Alexandrinus. Grabe supposed that she was the prioress of a convent in Seleucia, to whom Gregory of Nazianzus wrote three epistles, namely the 200<sup>th</sup>, 201<sup>st</sup>, and 202<sup>d</sup>; but, admitting that a person of the name

لکوا ان هذا الكتاب بخط ثقل الشهد

See Grabe's Prolegomena Cap. I. § 4.

\* Hunc anachronismum ut vitaret Cyrillus Lucaris, rem ita narravit . . . . . at hoc non erat traditiones retinere, sed novas ac veteribus contrarias fingere.

name of Thecla in the fourth century was really the copyist, it is no necessary consequence that she was the Thecla to whom Gregory wrote, since many might have lived in that age, who had the very same name. The transcriber might have been a person, of whom we have no further knowledge than that of her name, who lived in the eighth or even in the tenth century. Notwithstanding therefore the profusion of learning which has been displayed on both sides of the question, an impartial lover of truth must acknowledge, that certainty is not to be obtained.

The conjecture of Oudin, which was adopted by Wettstein, that the manuscript was written by an *Accœmet* is worthy of attention, because it contains a catalogue of the psalms, that were to be sung at every hour, not only of the day, but of the night<sup>32</sup>. A description of the *Accœmets*, or monks, whose office was to sing psalms night and day, may be seen in Helyot's History of religious orders<sup>33</sup>, Vol. I. c. 29. at present therefore I will only observe, that this conjecture contradicts not the account that Thecla was the copyist, since there were not only monks, but nuns of this order.

The antiquity likewise of this manuscript can be determined with no certainty, though it appears from the formation of the letters, which resemble those of the fourth and fifth centuries, and the want of accents, that it was not written so late as the tenth century. In this century it was placed by Oudin, while Grabe and Schulze have referred it to the fourth, which is the very utmost period that can be allowed, because it contains the epistles of Athanasius. Wettstein, with more probability, has chosen a mean between these two extremes, and referred it to the fifth century: but we are not justified in drawing this inference from the formation of the letters alone, for it is well known that the same mode of forming the letters was retained longer in some countries and monasteries than in others; nor must we forget to take into the account the above-mentioned likeness between these and the Sahidic characters. Wettstein has gone a  
step



step further, and to this opinion, which is not wholly improbable, has added the following, that the Codex Alexandrinus is one of those very manuscripts from which various readings were taken as marginal notes to the Syriac version in the year 615, which I have mentioned Ch. vii. sect. 11. but this conjecture has been amply refuted by Ridley in his *Dissertatio de versionibus Syriacis*, sect. 15.

That the reader may be able to see with what little certainty we can judge of the antiquity of this celebrated manuscript, I will produce the principal arguments which have been used both for and against it. He will probably learn, from the following statement, to pay less adoration to the Codex Alexandrinus than many eminent critics, and from this example will see the preference that is due in many respects to ancient versions before any single manuscript, because the antiquity of the former, which is in general greater than that of the latter, can be determined with more precision.

The arguments advanced by those who refer the Codex Alexandrinus to the fourth or fifth centuries are the following:

a) The epistles of St. Paul are not divided into chapters like the Gospels, though this division took place so early as 396, when to each chapter was prefixed a superscription. If therefore, says Grabe, this manuscript had been written after the year 396, it is probable that the copyist would have adopted this useful division.

To this argument even the advocates for this manuscript, Wettstein and Semler, have made weighty objections<sup>34</sup>, which I omit at present, because I shall answer it presently in conjunction with the following argument.

b) The Codex Alexandrinus has the epistles of Clement of Rome; but these were forbidden to be read in the churches by the council of Laodicea in 364, and that of Carthage in 419. Hence Schulze has concluded that this manuscript was written before the year 364.

c) This very learned critic has produced a new argument for its antiquity, taken from the last of the fourteen hymns

hymns found in this manuscript immediately after the Psalms, which is superscribed ὕμνος ἐωθινός, and is called the grand doxology. This morning hymn ends here with the words *παράτεινον τὸ εἰς σε τοῖς γινώσκουσι σε*, and the clause, *ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*, which was used as early as the time of Proclus, that is between the years 434 and 446, is not added: the manuscript therefore must have been written before that period.

d) Wetstein is of opinion, that it must have been written before the time of Jerom, because the Greek text of this manuscript was altered from the Old Italic.

e) The same critic produces the following argument as a proof of its having been written before the time of Muhammed, namely, that the transcriber was ignorant that the Arabs were called Hagarenes, because he has written, 1 Chron. v. 20. *αγοραῖοι* for *Αγαρῖοι*. To this argument, though it has met with the approbation of the impartially thinking Dr. Semler<sup>35</sup>, may be objected in particular, that the name, by which the Arabs have been known since the time of Muhammed, is not Hagarenes, but Saracens. The former is the name of a nation in the neighbourhood of the Persian gulph<sup>36</sup>, and which might have been unknown in Egypt, even after the conquest of that country by the successors of Muhammed. Besides, the Codex Alexandrinus has in the verse immediately preceding, namely, 1 Chron. v. 19. very properly *Αγαρῶν*: it is certain therefore that *αγοραῖοι*, v. 20. is a mere erratum, and cannot be alleged as a proof that the copyist had never heard of such a people as the Hagarenes. We find likewise *Αγαρῖτης*, 1 Chron. xxvii. 31. and *Αγαρηνοί*, Ps. lxxxii. 7.

Beside the objections which might be made to each of the preceding arguments in particular, it appears that their united force affords no certainty; from the consideration, that the Codex Alexandrinus must have been copied from a still more ancient manuscript, and that if this

<sup>35</sup> Historia belli Nesibeni, p. 78. and 91. of my Commentationes per annos 1763—1768, Societati scientiarum prælectæ.

this latter were faithfully copied, the arguments apply rather to this, than to the Alexandrine manuscript itself. For instance, if the more ancient manuscript had no division of the chapters in the epistles of St. Paul, nor at the end of the doxology, the clause *αγιος ο θεος, κ. τ. λ.* the writer of the Alexandrine manuscript might have lived in a much later period, and still have faithfully copied what he found in his original. If the latter had a text that had been altered from the Itala, or contained the epistles of Clement, which the transcriber would neither consider as a crime to copy, nor hold to be canonical because they had a place in the manuscript, any more than the epistle of Athanasius, or if he found *αγοραις* instead of *αγαραις*, all these the writer of the Codex Alexandrinus might have faithfully copied, and yet have lived in the seventh, or even, as Oudin contends, in the tenth century. If the copyist were really ignorant of Greek, he has given an accurate transcript even of the errors of his original: and all the internal marks of evidence will apply rather to this, than to the copy. It is the hand-writing alone, or the formation of the letters, with the want of accents, which can lead to any probable decision. And with respect to the alteration from the Itala, Wetstein himself acknowledges that many much more modern manuscripts have shared the same fate.

On the other hand, the arguments alleged to prove that it is not so ancient as the fourth century, are equally decisive.

a) Dr. Semler is of opinion that the epistle of Athanasius, on the value and excellency of the Psalms, would hardly have been prefixed to them during his life. But I can see no reason to doubt it, since Athanasius had many warm and strenuous advocates. A transcriber, who was attached to his party, might as easily have prefixed to the Psalms the epistle of Athanasius, as other transcribers formerly prefixed to each book of the Bible the prefaces of Jerom. It is true, that Athanasius was more than once dispossessed of his see, but this very circumstance exalted him, in the opinion of his own party, and

and placed him in the very next rank to that of a martyr. If the Codex Alexandrinus were written in Egypt, as Dr. Semler supposes, it is still more probable that this honour was conferred on the Egyptian Patriarch even during his life.

b) From this very epistle of Athanasius, Oudin has attempted to draw an argument, though totally without foundation, that the manuscript was written in the tenth century. He says the genuine epistle of Athanasius, is that which was acknowledged by the second council of Nicæa, (as if ecclesiastical councils had never pronounced spurious writings to be genuine): that this council quotes the following words from the epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, *την βιβλον των ψαλμων τις λαμβανων τας μεν περι τς σωτηρας προφητειας συνηθως εν ταις αλλαις γραφαις θαυμαζων και προσκυνων διερχεται*. These words, says Oudin, are not in the epistle contained in the Codex Alexandrinus, consequently that epistle is spurious. Here an impartial lover of truth would have said only that it was defective. He infers from these premises, first, that the Alexandrine manuscript could not have been written during the life of Athanasius, because no one would have forged an epistle in the name of an author that was then living, though even instances of this kind might be produced from ecclesiastical history; and secondly, what is a most extraordinary and unwarranted step, that it was written in the tenth century, an age extremely fertile in the invention of spurious productions.

Oudin has very artificially directed his arguments, by constantly presupposing that Grabe asserted, what in fact he had not, that the Codex Alexandrinus was written during the life of Athanasius. But his whole proof vanishes into nothing, since the very words, on which he rests as a foundation, are really found in the epistle of Athanasius, as it stands in this manuscript, and they may be seen in Grabe's or Breitinger's edition of the Septuagint, at the beginning of the 25<sup>th</sup> section of this epistle.

c) The Virgin Mary, in the superscription of what is called the Song of the blessed Virgin, is styled *θετοκος*,  
a name

a name which Wetstein says betrays the fifth century. But this I am unable to comprehend, for though this epithet was rendered famous, by the disputes relating to it in the fifth century, being rejected by Anastasius and Nestorius, and on that account more zealously used, both by the orthodox and the Eutychians, yet the expression itself had been introduced in a more early age, as may be seen in Mosheim's *Institutiones hist. eccles. Sæc. V. P. II. cap. v. § 5, 6, 7.* where it appears that Cyril of Alexandria was one of its most zealous advocates. [See also Woide's preface, § 52.]

d) From the probable conjecture that the Cod. Alex. was written by one of the order of the Acœmets, Oudin concludes against its antiquity; but Wetstein goes no further than to assert, that it could not have been written before the fifth century, because Alexander, who founded this order, lived about the year 420. Now what Schulze has said in reply to this inference, that before the time of the Acœmets there existed other religious persons, who sung psalms night and day, is possible, and even probable, when we reflect on the Euchets, though it is not historically certain: for the passages, which he has alleged in the 26<sup>th</sup> section, relate to psalm-singing in the morning, at noon, afternoon, evening, commencement of the night, midnight, and dawn of day, but not to each hour of the day. I readily admit, that the Alexandrine manuscript was not written before the year 420, but not because it was written by an Acœmet. The founder of this order died in the year 430, and if we calculate from the history of his life<sup>z</sup>, we shall find that the order must have commenced in the fourth century, and probably between the years 380 and 390.

It

<sup>z</sup> The following events require a much longer interval than that of thirty years. 1. His foundation of a convent of Acœmets on the Euphrates, in which he himself presided 20 years, 2. His retirement from this convent, when he went into the desert with fifty disciples. 3. His residence in Antioch. 4. His residence in Constantinople, where he again founded a convent of Acœmets. 6. His imprisonment twice in Constantinople. 7. The foundation of a new Convent, after he had quitted Constantinople, in which he died in the year 430.

It is extraordinary that no one has observed, that this very circumstance of the Alexandrine manuscript's having been written by an Acœmet, or for the use of a convent of that order, is the very strongest argument that can be alleged in favour of its antiquity. For at the very beginning of the controversy, relating to the epithet Θεοτοκος, the Acœmets declared against Eutyches, and were afterwards condemned as Nestorians. It is therefore unconceivable that an Acœmet, provided he understood what he wrote, should have given to the Virgin Mary a title, which was become as it were the signal of engagement between the two parties. If therefore this manuscript was written by an Acœmet, or for the use of a convent of Acœmets, it must have been written before the year 428, in which the controversy began.

Indecisive as the preceding arguments appear, I confess that there is a circumstance which excites a suspicion, that the Alexandrine manuscript was written after Arabic was become the native language of the Egyptians, that is, one, or rather two centuries after Alexandria was taken by the Saracens, which happened in the year 640. The transcriber confounds, and that, if I am not mistaken, in many instances, the two letters M and B, an exchange which frequently takes place in Arabic. See my remarks on 1 Macc. ii. 1. and iii. 16. According to my opinion therefore, the Codex Alexandrinus is not more ancient than the eighth century.

A question, that is much more important, but difficult to be separated from that of its antiquity, is, whether the Codex Alexandrinus has been altered from the Latin. My father, and Wetstein, have answered it in the affirmative, and supported their opinion by weighty arguments. The number of remarkable instances of coincidence with the Latin version in readings, where the latter is particularly distinguished from the Greek text is very considerable. I will produce only a single instance, from which the reader will be convinced, that the Latin version has had some influence on the Alexandrine

andrine manuscript<sup>36</sup>. The common Greek text, Acts iv. 25. is ο δια σωματος Δαβιδ τε πατρος σε ειπων, but in the Vulgate we find qui spiritu sancto per os patris nostri David pueri tui dixisti. Other latinizing manuscripts, the Cod. Cantabrigiensis and Laudanus for instance, have inserted into the Greek text the words expressive of spiritus sanctus, and pater noster: the same interpolation is in the Codex Alexandrinus, but the words are inserted in such a manner as shews them to be spurious, because the construction is wholly devoid of meaning, ο τε πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου σωματος Δαβιδ πατρος σε ειπων. If I were not unwilling to detain the attention of the reader, I could add a number of examples, which my father had written on the margin of his Tractatio Critica, but I will reserve them for a new edition of that work. The question will be determined with no precision, till we are in possession of the Coptic and Sahidic versions, which at present lie buried in libraries: for as these two versions harmonize in a remarkable manner with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, it is possible that the Codex Alexandrinus was altered from them, and not from the Latin. It may be observed in general, that we are in a state of obscurity with respect to the latinizing manuscripts, and shall continue so, till a proper use has been made of those versions.

Several remarks, which might be made on the Alexandrine manuscript, with respect to the Old Testament, I must defer till the publication of my Introduction to the Old Testament, though they might have influence in determining the value of the readings in the New Testament<sup>37</sup>: in the mean time the reader may find some account of them in my notes to the first book of the Maccabees. Before I conclude, I must mention a circumstance, that seems at first sight to contradict what I asserted above, that this manuscript was written by a person, who was not master of the Greek: namely, we find in several parts of it ingenious corrections, which could only have been made by a man of learning. But both these circumstances may be easily reconciled, for

an unlearned copyist, a Thecla, might have transcribed the Codex Alexandrinus from a more ancient Egyptian manuscript, in which those alterations had been already made.

This manuscript has been frequently collated, and with more accuracy than any other. The first person who examined it was Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), whose extracts were used by Grotius, afterwards by Alexander Huissius, and with still greater accuracy by Mill, though Pfaff\* has observed, and probably with reason, that all his extracts are not perfectly exact. But since this labour has been repeated by Wetstein, we have reason to believe that we are now in possession of a complete and accurate collection of its various readings. I have lately received intelligence from London that Dr. Owen designs to publish the Codex Alexandrinus: if the plan should be put in execution, it would be the completion of a wish, which I have long entertained, and which I expressed in the preceding edition: but there is another manuscript, the publication of which would be attended with still more beneficial consequences, the Codex Cantabrigienses. [It is well known at present that the above-mentioned plan has been very ably executed by Woide.]

2. Codex Amandi, which in the second part<sup>38</sup> of Wetstein's Greek Testament, is noted Cod. 15. We know nothing more of it than that Amandus, who lived at Louvain, had it in his possession, that Zeger has appealed to it, and that Erasmus supposed it to be a latinizing manuscript. It is certain that it has the suspicious interpolation *α συνταγ*, Rom. i. 32. How many books of the New Testament it contains, where it is at present preserved, and whether it has been used in modern times under another name, are questions which I am unable to answer<sup>39</sup>.

3. Codex Antonii Askew, noted 58 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., containing all the epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, written on vellum; it has never been

\* De var. lect. N. T. cap. 3, p. 63,



been collated, but has been consulted for 1 John v. 7. Velthufen has given a description of it in his *Observations on various subjects*, p. 51. It is the very same manuscript which Wettstein has likewise called *Meadii tertius*, and noted Cod. 22; it has therefore been twice reckoned<sup>40</sup>. There are, properly speaking, three volumes, the first of which contains the Gospels, and is termed by Wettstein *Meadius 1*, or Cod. 109, but it is not certain whether all three belong to each other. The question was affirmed by Askew, but denied by Velthufen, who however confesses that he has forgotten several circumstances. The first volume according to its subscription was finished 24 Feb. 834; now this is not the year of Christ, as Velthufen supposes, but the year 6834, according to the Greek reckoning. This remark was made by Kulencamp in the German museum for March 1776 N<sup>o</sup> 2, in consequence of which he places it in the year of Christ 1326. It is therefore a very modern manuscript<sup>41</sup>. Velthufen is of opinion that the copyist understood not what he wrote, in support of which he appeals to Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. where it has *ἑξ* and *ἑος*. It appears then that this manuscript has been examined for certain controverted points; but from extracts like these we derive not sufficient knowledge of a manuscript, to warrant a quotation from it, as from an evidence of good authority.

4. Augiensis, noted F in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, which is however defective from the beginning to Rom. iii. 8. and the epistle to the Hebrews is found only in the Latin version. This manuscript, which is supposed to have been written in the ninth century<sup>42</sup>, has taken its title from Augia major, the name of a monastery at Rheinau, to which it belonged at the time of holding the council of Basle. It has since passed through several hands, those of George Michael Wepfer, and Mieg, till Bentley purchased it in 1718, for 250 Dutch florins: but I know not where it is at present<sup>43</sup>. It has been collated by Wettstein. It coincides in very many places

places with the Codex Bœrnerianus, and belongs evidently to the Western edition, for which reason it has been ranked among those which have been said to latinize. Now it is true that it harmonizes with the Latin version, but this is no proof of corruption. I will give only the two following examples: 1 Cor. xiv. 21. it has in common with the Vulgate, and Cod. Bœrn. *εν ιτεραις γλωσσαις* for *εν ιτερογλωσσαις*, but on the other hand *εγκακεμεν*, 2 Cor. iv. 1. in common with the Alexandrinus and Claromontanus, a reading which has hitherto not been quoted \* from the Bœrnerianus<sup>c</sup>.

5. Augustanus primus, noted 83 in the first volume of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, is written on vellum, and has been collated by Bengel<sup>d</sup>.

6. Augustanus secundus, noted 84 in the first volume of Wettstein's N. T., contains a part of St. Matthew and St. Mark on vellum. It has been collated by Bengel, who relates, sect. 8. that it has five chasms.

7. Augustanus tertius, noted 85 in the first volume of Wettstein's N. T., contains only single leaves of vellum of the four Gospels, in which are ten chasms. It has been collated by Bengel.

8. Augustanus quartus, noted Evangelistarium 24, in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. It has been collated by Bengel.

9. Augustanus quintus, noted 54 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the ten last chapters of the epistle to the Romans. It has been collated by Bengel.

10. Augustanus sextus, noted 55 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 46, contains the

\* For an account of this remarkable reading see ch. iv. sect. 14. of this introduction.

<sup>d</sup> Of these seven following Augsburg manuscripts, we know nothing more than what Bengel has related. It is a pity that they have not been more accurately described, for with respect to the second and third, we are ignorant what chapters they contain; Bengel calls the first probus, the second sincerus; whether they deserve these epithets I am unable to determine.

the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles of St. Paul, and the catholic epistles. It has been collated by Bengel.

11. Augustanus septimus is a copy of the Exposition of the Revelation of St. John by Andreas Cæsareensis, and has been collated and quoted by Bengel, as a manuscript of the Greek Testament, because it contains, beside the commentary, the text of the Revelation. He supposes it to be several hundred years old, and that it has the African readings. See his *Fundamenta criseos apocalypticæ*, § 9. p. 490. of the second edition of his *Apparatus criticus*. This manuscript is not numbered in Wettstein.

12. Codex Bandurii, noted O in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is nothing more than a fragment, torn out of a larger manuscript, containing the story of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii. and was given to Mountfaucon by Anselmo Banduri. I have found only one reading quoted from it by Wettstein, namely, ver. 14. *ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνος*.

13—34. Barberini, noted 112 in the first volume of Wettstein's N. T. John Matthæus Caryophilus, by order of Pope Urban VIII. collected readings from twenty-two Greek manuscripts, which he collated with the *Biblia Regia* of Antwerp, with a view of publishing a new edition of the Greek Testament, though the project was never executed. According to his description, ten of these manuscripts contained the Gospels, eight of them the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, and four the book of Revelation. He gives no further account of them than that they were preserved in the Vatican, and other principal libraries in Rome; and even from the description which Blanchini has given of Roman manuscripts, we are unable to ascertain those which were used by Caryophilus: it is therefore possible that these manuscripts have been quoted under other names. Nor has he mentioned in his extracts what manuscripts, but only how many are in favour of any particular reading; he has numbered therefore his evidence, without naming them, which is a very great defect. His collection

lection of readings is preserved in the library of Cardinal Barberini in Rome, and because they were thence made known to the world, the manuscripts themselves acquired the title of *Codices Barberini*, an epithet which belongs only to the extracts, though the name is of no importance, provided it does not lead us into error. Petrus Possinus was the first who published them: he annexed them to his *Catena patrum Græcorum in Marcum*, printed at Rome in 1673, and prefixed to them the following title, *Collationes græci contextus omnium librorum N. T. juxta editionem Antwerpensem Regiam cum 22 codicibus antiquis MSS. Ex bibliotheca Barberini*. Mill inserted them among his various readings, but Wettstein omitted them, on account of a suspicion which he entertained, and which I shall presently examine; an omission by which he has rendered his edition of the Greek Testament less perfect. And even admitting that the whole collection were an imposture, he might have quoted them with the same propriety as he has quoted the corruptions of Marcion<sup>45</sup>.

It has been doubted whether the *Codex Vaticanus* was in the number of those which Caryophilus collated, but at present the fact is certain: for in the address presented to the Pope, which is still preserved in Rome, he requests the use of the manuscript noted 1209, which is the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus*. See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XXIII. p. 156<sup>46</sup>. He seems to have reckoned it as two manuscripts, because it is divided into two parts, the one containing the Gospels, the other the Epistles.

The readings of the Barberini collection are for the most part in favour of the Latin version: it has been therefore concluded, that among these twenty-two manuscripts, there must have been many *codices latinizantes*, a conclusion which is wholly ungrounded, since the only inference that can be drawn is, that these manuscripts

<sup>45</sup> Caryophilus says himself in the preface, *Summo Dei beneficio ex hac collatione perfectum illud est, Vulgatam editionem Latinam testimonio Græcorum vetustissimorum codicum et autorum esse fidelissimam, et Græco-fonti non immerito æquiparandam.*

manuscripts were of the Western edition; besides, Caryophilus might have selected those which coincided with the Vulgate, in preference to others. But Wetstein goes still further, and contends that the whole collection is a mere imposture<sup>47</sup>. The circumstance, which excited this suspicion is, that the number of the manuscripts is precisely twenty-two, for he says, 'Stephens used ten manuscripts of the Gospels, eight of the apostolicum, and two of the Revelation, which the errors of the press have converted into four; it is highly improbable that exactly the same number should have been collated in Rome; and the editor Poffin was a Jesuit, and therefore justly exposed to the suspicion of a pious fraud.' I confess that the coincidence of the numbers is an extraordinary circumstance, especially as the Codices Velefiani, which are likewise a present from the Jesuits, amount to sixteen, the number used by Stephens, according to another calculation. But since many of the Barberini readings contradict the Vulgate, and we have many manuscripts which latinize in a still higher degree, a stronger proof seems necessary, before we can charge the church of Rome with an imposture, which is not only useless, but if true, betrays the utmost weakness, since no one, whose object was to deceive, would have determined his pretended manuscripts precisely to the same number as those which Stephens had collated. As mere accident therefore is hardly sufficient to account for this agreement, it is more reasonable to suppose, that Caryophilus designedly chose this number, in order that a publication patronized by the Pope, might have at least as much authority as that of the Paris editor.

To this may be added a circumstance, which renders the notion of an imposture still more improbable, and at the same time affords a reason why the Barberini readings are so frequently in favour of the Vulgate. The second rule, which Caryophilus laid down in his preface, and by which he intended to abide, in his edition of the Greek Testament, was the following, si omnes MSS. codices a Regio et Vulg. edit. Lat. dissentirent, ut tex-

tus ad fidem codicum MSS. legeretur, sed antiqua lectio ad finem capitum annotaretur. It appears then that the editor, however partial he might have been in favour of the Vulgate, intended to publish the Greek text in opposition to it, as often as it was contradicted by all his manuscripts; and upon examining the Barberini readings, we find that this has really happened. A pious impostor, whose object was to confirm the text of the Vulgate, would never have invented a set of manuscripts, all of which decided against it. But as he constantly noted the reading that was favourable to the Vulgate, even though he found it in only a single manuscript, according to his fourth rule, 'ne si vel unus ex Codd. MSS. faveret Vulg. lat. editioni ad finem capitum inter annotationes prætermitteretur,' and rejected those supported only by a single manuscript, if unfavourable to the Vulgate, his readings unavoidably acquired a latinizing appearance.

Lastly, as many Barberini readings, which coincide not with the Vulgate, have been found to harmonize with the old Latin versions, published by Blanchini, no one can suppose that they were a forgery of Poffin. For he must have been endued with the gift of prophecy, had he invented readings that harmonize with versions not published before the present century: and he could have had no motive for the forgery of readings that deviate from the Vulgate, since they contradict a version, established by papal authority. A list of these passages may be seen in Blanchini *Evangeliarium quadruplex*, P. I. p. 491. for it is evident that the manuscripts there, called *Decem Græci codices Romæ asservati*, are no other than the *Codices Barberini*<sup>48</sup>. It is here necessary to remark, that Blanchini has sometimes quoted, through mistake, nine manuscripts against a reading, where Caryophilus has quoted only one in favour of it, concluding too hastily, that where Caryophilus has written MS. 1. the other nine must have had a different reading.

It appears from what has been said above, that Wetstein's suspicion was ungrounded, and that in future editions

editions of the Greek Testament, the Barberini extracts may be safely admitted into the list of various readings.

It were to be wished that more certainty could be obtained, in regard to the Codices Barberini, because questions of importance sometimes depend on them. For instance, in 2 Tim. iii. 16. a Barberini manuscript is the only one that has been quoted for the omission of the particle *καί*, which in that passage is of very great importance. Now if they are not Greek, it follows that not one single Greek manuscript omits this important *καί*; if they are, the omission is supported by a single latinizing manuscript, which, from this very circumstance, we should discover to be one of the Codices Barberini.

P. S. This certainty we have at last obtained by means of Professor Birch: He discovered in Rome the very memorial of Caryophilus, in which he requests permission to use the manuscripts, noted in the Vatican by 349, 354, 358, 1150, 1254, and 1209, which last is the famous Codex Vaticanus. Birch has collated these manuscripts, and found in them the Barberini readings<sup>49</sup>. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 153—163. Wetstein therefore acted very unjustly in rejecting the collection, and has thereby rendered his Greek Testament of less value.

35. Baroccianus tertius<sup>50</sup>, noted 28 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 23, in the fourth 6. It is written on vellum, in small, neat characters, and according to Mill's opinion, who reckoned it among the probatiores, above 500 years old. It contains the Acts of the Apostles from chap. xi. 13., the catholic epistles, those of St. Paul, and the Revelation of St. John, in which however the three last chapters fail. It was first collated by Mill, but it appears from Wetstein's second volume, p. 743, that Caspar Wetstein, chaplain to the Princess of Wales, has collated it still more accurately, though the collation appears to have been confined to the book of Revelation.

36. Baroccianus quadragesimus octavus, noted 28 in the

the fourth part of Wettstein's N. T., contains, beside other writings, which belong not to our present enquiry, p. 51—75. the Revelation of St. John, from the beginning to chap. xvii. 6. Wettstein procured extracts from it, by means of Caspar Wettstein above-mentioned.

37. Basileensis, B. VI. 21. noted in Mill B. 1., in Bengel Bas. a<sup>t</sup>, and in Wettstein's first part E. It contains the four Gospels, but with the following chasms, Luke i. 69. — ii. 4. iii. 4—15. xii. 58. — xiii. 12. xv. 8—20. xxiv. 47. to the end of the Gospels; but some of them have been filled up by a later hand. Mill, who highly valued this manuscript, estimates its antiquity, on the credit of Mabillon and Battier, at 1000 years; these two critics have depended on Buxtorf, who ascribed to it that age, even a hundred years before their time; and if again we abide by the assertion of Mill, it follows, that this manuscript is not more ancient than it was a century and an half ago. In fact, the estimate is too great, even for the present year. Wettstein says, the account communicated to Mill, that its characters resembled those of the Codex Alexandrinus, is false, and that it has marks of aspiration, and accents. He refers it himself to the ninth century, allotting it the fifth place among the manuscripts, in respect to antiquity, though he makes an interval of some centuries between this, and the four most ancient. Wettstein is of opinion, that the orthography betrays a copyist, to whom the words were dictated, and who understood little of what he wrote, as he has frequently confounded ε and αι — ει, ι and η — ω and ο — οι and υ, has written κλαδμος for κλαυδμος, and for κεκλεισμενων, John xx. 26. καικλησμενων, a word devoid of meaning, and which does not exist in the Greek language. See Schmelzer's *Dissertatio de Basileensis bibliothecæ codice Græco evangeliorum*, published at Gottingen in 1750.

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† The account which Bengel has given of this and the two following manuscripts, must be sought not in his *Introductio*; but in his *Apparatus criticus*, in the remarks immediately preceding the first chapter of St. Matthew.



This manuscript is one of those which was presented by Cardinal Johannes de Ragusio, who died in 1444, to a monastery in Basel, whence it was brought to the public library in 1559. It was not used by Erasmus for his edition of the Greek Testament, as Mill supposed, an opinion which has been confuted by Wetstein. The mistake arose from the circumstance, that it has many readings in common with that noted B. VI. 25. which I shall presently describe under N° 39. and which Erasmus sent to the printing-house of Frobenius, with a design of giving an impression of it. In whatever relates to the manuscripts at Basel, we may depend on the accounts of Wetstein, who resided there, and made very frequent use of them, whereas the descriptions, which have been given by strangers to that city, are for the most part erroneous, as they were obliged to depend on extracts, and to substitute conjectures for facts. Mill procured extracts of this manuscript, not from John Battier, as he himself relates, (for among the literati of Basel at that time, there was no one of this name) but from Samuel Battier. Several of these passages were revised by Iselin for Bengel's edition of the Greek Testament, but Wetstein himself collated this manuscript in 1714, and has given its readings in his edition<sup>51</sup>.

38. Basileensis, B. VI. 27. noted by Bengel Bas. γ, and by Wetstein 1. in all the four parts of his N. T.<sup>52</sup> Erasmus, who used it for his edition of the Greek Testament, calls it Exemplar Capnionis, and also Reuchlini, because he had borrowed it from Reuchlin, though it was not his property. It is one of those which were given by Johannes de Ragusio to the monastery in Basel, and Reuchlin borrowed it from the monks, who were too ignorant to use it themselves, and kept it during thirty years, till the time of his death. It contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation; is written on vellum, with small characters, and accents. On account of the subscriptions, and pictures, which are found in it, one of which appears to be a portrait of Leo Sapiens, and of his son Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, Wetstein,  
conjectures,

conjectures, that it was written in their time, that is, in the tenth century. Erasmus, agreeably to his usual suspicion, supposed it to be a latinizing manuscript; this was denied by Wettstein, in the first edition of his *Prolegomena*, but in the second edition, which was prefixed to his *Greek Testament*, he admitted the charge to be grounded. Wettstein has likewise observed, that this manuscript alone has as many readings, which differ from the printed text, as all the other manuscripts together. Bengel values it higher in the Gospels, than in the other parts of the New Testament<sup>53</sup>, saying, *in evangelistis duntaxat, (nam etiam acta et epistolas habet) a sinceritate commendatur*. He procured a few extracts of it from Iselin, but Wettstein has twice collated it with great care, as he himself assures us.

According to my opinion of this manuscript, it is entitled to very great esteem. I have frequently remarked, even in those readings which it has in common only with a very few manuscripts, that they are entitled to the preference, for instance Luke xi. 2—4. where those passages of the Lord's prayer are omitted, which I hold to be interpolations from the Gospel of St. Matthew: it is true, that in such cases its readings coincide only with one or two manuscripts, but, on the other hand, they are confirmed by the authority of ancient versions. Now, the above-mentioned interpolation is omitted indeed in the Vulgate, but this is no reason for concluding that the manuscript latinizes, since it is likewise omitted by Origen, to whom this charge cannot possibly be laid<sup>54</sup>. Another example may be taken from Luke x. 42. where the preferable reading of Origen, the Coptic version<sup>55</sup>, and of the margin of the Philoxenian version, *ολιγων δε εστι χρεία η ενος*, is found in only two manuscripts, of which that in question is one. Here it cannot latinize, because the Vulgate harmonizes with the common reading, '*porro unum est necessarium*,' and the old Italic, according to three manuscripts, namely Corbeiensis, Veronensis, and Vindobonensis<sup>56</sup>, omit entirely the words *ενος δε εστι χρεία*. The charge, therefore,

therefore, which has been laid to it must be entirely ungrounded. A reading peculiar to this manuscript, *προφητης εστιν η ως εις των προφητων*<sup>57</sup> (for *προφητης εστιν ως εις των προφητων*, which is found in all the other manuscripts, and gives a totally different sense), was probably taken from it by Erasmus, from whose edition it has been transmitted to others: no other manuscript has been hitherto quoted for the particle *η*, and no doubt can be made that it is really in this manuscript, since Wettstein, who twice collated it, has not quoted it among those, in which the particle is omitted. Without deciding on the genuineness of the reading, I will only remark, 1. That it is not a latinizing reading, since the particle is found in no Latin version. 2. It is a very ancient, and therefore respectable reading, since it is found in the Philoxenian version *ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܫܡ ܚܝܝܢ*<sup>58</sup>. 3. As this version was made at Alexandria, the manuscript is at least related to the Alexandrine edition<sup>59</sup>. I have selected only these few examples, but as they are of importance, I hope that future critics will esteem the manuscript as highly as it deserves.

39. Basileensis, B. VI. 25. in Bengel Bas. β, and, in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., Codex 2. According to Wettstein, it is an incorrect copy of the Gospels, written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in which η, ε and α, ω and ο, α and ε, β and υ are very frequently confounded<sup>60</sup>, and which was purchased by the monks of Basel for two Rhenish florins, a price proportionate to the value of the manuscript. Erasmus used it in his edition of the New Testament, and it was from this manuscript that the press was set, after he had made his alterations, which are still visible<sup>61</sup>, as also the marks of the printer. Yet Bengel has allotted a place, in his Apparatus Criticus, to several of its readings, which he procured from Iselin.

40. Basileensis, B. VI. 17. noted 7 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the epistles of St. Paul as far as Heb. xii. 18. Wettstein has often quoted it, and has probably therefore collated it himself, though he makes no mention of it in the place where it is most reasonable

reasonable to expect it. A remarkable reading, which Erasmus took into his text on the authority of this manuscript, namely, Rom. viii. 35. *απο της αγαπης τα* *θη*, for *τα χριστα*, is found only in this, and in the Moscow manuscript<sup>62</sup>, noted N: some others have it as a scholion. The reading is likewise ancient, for it is found in Origen, but it does not necessarily follow that it be genuine.

41. Basileensis, B. IX. in Mill B. 2. in the second and third parts of Wettstein's N. T., Codex 2. Wettstein has named it also Codex Amerbachii. Mill has given, § 1119, very ungrounded conjectures relative to this manuscript, which he delivers as facts: we must therefore abide by the accounts of Wettstein, who was eye-witness to what he relates. It contains the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, belonged formerly to Amerbach, as appears from a subscription, not to the monastery in Basel, as Mill relates; has several corrections either of the transcriber himself, or of some person who lived nearly in the same age; was altered in some places by Erasmus, and delivered into the printing-house, like that described N° 39. Since that time it has suffered partly from the mice, partly from the carelessness of the book-binder, who cut off from the margin many of the corrections of Erasmus. Wettstein says, that this manuscript is more ancient than that mentioned N° 39; I have no further knowledge of the time when it was written. Mill relates that Erasmus valued it at 600 years, that is at present 860, but Wettstein has shewn that Mill was mistaken, and that he applied to this Greek manuscript, what Erasmus has said of a Latin one. Mill procured extracts from it by the assistance of Battier.

42. Basileensis, B. X. 20. in Mill B. 3. in the second and third parts of Wettstein's N. T., Codex 4. contains all the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, not in the same order as in the Greek manuscripts, but according to the Latin arrangement, the Epistles of St. Paul being preceded by the Acts of the Apostles, and followed by the

the catholic epistles. Wettstein reckons it among the latinizing manuscripts, places it in the fifteenth century, and observes that the copyist has inserted marginal glosses 'into the text : for instance, Rom. xiv. 17. to those things, of which the kingdom of God consists, he has added a fourth, *καὶ ἀσκησις*, an addition which manifestly favours of monkish morality, and 1 Cor. xiv. 34. he has mitigated the expression of St. Paul, and converted *ἐπιτεταγται* into *ἐπιτετακται*, a reading found in this manuscript alone.

I have observed in the Curæ, p. 127 and 178, a remarkable coincidence between this manuscript and the Syriac version, in a reading that is evidently false, whence we may conclude, that the corrections and additions found in this manuscript were not all of them made in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and by the transcriber himself, but that many of them are more ancient. Acts xix. 18. it has *τὰς ἀμαρτίας* for *τὰς πράξεις*, which Caryophilus had likewise found in one of the Codices Barberini<sup>a</sup>. The Syriac version has both readings, for we there find 'renuntiabant offensas suas, confitebanturque quod fecerant,' but in the Latin version there is no trace of this addition, either in the Vulgate, or in Sabatier's Bible. This manuscript therefore has additions, which are very ancient, and yet not taken from the Latin, a circumstance which is unfavourable to Semler's conjecture, who supposed it to have been copied from the Complutum edition<sup>65</sup>. Besides, the celebrated text 1 John v. 7. which is printed in that edition, is wanting in this manuscript, as Goeze has observed p. 61. of his Defence of the Complutum edition.

Erasmus made use of this manuscript, and Mill procured extracts of it from Battier, but from no other part than the three epistles of St. John. Wettstein must have collated

<sup>a</sup> This is one of the examples which confirm the Barberini readings, and at the same time shew that Caryophilus and Possin were innocent of the charge that was laid to them by Wettstein, as this reading had never been quoted, when Possin published the *Collatio Caryophili* in 1673<sup>63</sup>. See the above-mentioned description of the Codices Barberini, by Professor Birch<sup>64</sup>.

collated it, because he quotes it from the beginning of the epistle to the Romans, to the end of the Epistles.

43. Codex Monachorum S. Basilii Romæ, N° 119. noted 41 in the third part of Wettstein's N. T., in the fourth 20. This ancient manuscript, which Blanchini describes in his *Evangeliarum quadruplex*<sup>66</sup>, P. I. p. 519, includes the whole of the New Testament, but there is a chasm from the beginning, as far as *μετανοείτε*, Matth. iv. 17. It has never been collated, and belongs therefore properly to the preceding section<sup>67</sup>: but as Wettstein has allotted it a place in his catalogue, and quoted in his collection some few of its readings, which Blanchini had given as samples, I could not omit it. The same may be said of the following manuscript.

44. Codex Monachorum S. Basilii Romæ, N° 101. This is Wettstein's Codex 24. in the Revelation of St. John. It is described by Blanchini, p. 522. of the above-mentioned volume of his *Evangeliarum quadruplex*. It begins with Acts xxviii. 19. the end of which book is immediately followed by the Revelation: then come the catholic epistles, and lastly those of St. Paul, as far as Heb. iii. 12. Blanchini commends it as very ancient, but as it has not been collated, it belongs not properly to the present catalogue<sup>68</sup>.

45. Bodleianus 1, noted 45 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. is a copy of the four Gospels, written on vellum, but of no great antiquity. It has been collated by Mill<sup>69</sup>; and Griesbach has examined it more accurately in the two chapters Mark viii. and Luke ix. See his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. clxx.

46. Bodleianus 2, noted 46 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a copy of four Gospels, collated by Mill, who estimated its antiquity at about 300 years. Griesbach has examined it for Mark xii.

47. Bodleianus 3, marked in the Bodleian library Baroccianus 202, is a *Lectionarium* of the four Gospels written in 995, and Wettstein's *Lectionarium* 5. It was collated

lated by Mill, and again in several passages by Wettstein, who says only 'ex parte contulimus.' It has many chasms.

48. Bodleianus 4, Wettstein's *Evangelistarium* 18, has likewise many chasms. Mill, who collated it, estimated its antiquity at about 500 years.

49. Bodleianus 5, Wettstein's *Evangelistarium* 19, was brought from Turkey, and is very modern. It has been collated by Mill.

50. Bodleianus 6, in the London Polyglot Bod. 1, and in Wettstein's first part *Codex* 47, is a very modern manuscript of the four Gospels, which Mill places towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Usher was the first who procured extracts from it; these were inserted in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, and thence taken by Mill and Wettstein. It has a manifest interpolation, Luke i. 28. *καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου*, which is found in no other manuscript.

51. Bodleianus 7, noted 48 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, collated by Mill, but of no great antiquity.

52. Bodleianus 24, Griesbach's *Codex* 118, is a manuscript of the four Gospels<sup>70</sup>, beginning with Matth. vi. 1. and continued to John xvi. 25. It was written in the thirteenth century, and has many chasms. Griesbach has collated it in the following places, Matth. viii. —xiv. Mark i—iv. ix. x. xvi. Luke i—iv. 30. xi. xiii. 35. —xiv. 20. xviii. 8—33. John i—iii. v. 3—15. viii. 1—26. It is a *Codex eclecticus*, of a very extraordinary composition. It harmonizes in so many places with the *Codex Reuchlinianus*, described above, N<sup>o</sup> 38, even in manifest errata, that the former was either copied from the latter, or from one that had been transcribed from it. But in some cases it deviates from the *Codex Reuchlinianus*, where, though we find the common readings, the relationship is still visible. Again, there are other passages, in which the transcriber seemed to be in doubt what manuscript he should follow, and left

a vacant space. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticae*, p. ccii. where examples are given.

53. Boernerianus, noted G in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. It belonged to Dr. C. F. Boerner, was collated by Küster, and described in the preface to his edition of Mill's Greek Testament. It contains the epistles of St. Paul, except that to the Hebrews, which was formerly rejected by the church of Rome: it is written in Greek and Latin, according to one of those versions, which were in use before the time of Jerom. The Latin is interlined between the Greek, written over the text, of which it is a translation; and as far as I can judge, from the description given by Stemmler, who made frequent use of it, the Latin was written since the Greek<sup>71</sup>. This manuscript is preserved at present in the Electoral library at Dresden.

It is one of those, which have been particularly accused of having been corrupted from the Latin. That it is a Greek-Latin manuscript, that it very frequently harmonizes with the Codex Claromontanus, and also with the Augiensis, are circumstances which afford no proof of its corruption, and shew only that it belongs to the Western edition. But on the other hand, it has several peculiarities, which corroborate this suspicion, so that Bengel himself, who was favourable to the Latinizing manuscripts, has not ventured in all cases to defend it. See his remarks in the *Apparatus criticus*, immediately preceding the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans<sup>72</sup>. Among other examples, we find *αξιως τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ* for *αξιως τῆ εὐαγγελίᾳ*, Phil. i. 27. because *digne* is followed in the Latin by an ablative, and ch. iii. 10. *συνφορτιζομενος* for *συμμορφωμενος*, because the old Latin version had *cooneratus morti ipsius*, which seems to have taken its rise from *coornatus*<sup>73</sup>. Rom. xv. 32. *συναναπαυσωμαι υμιν* is changed into *αναψυχω μεθ' υμων*, because the Latin has *refrigerem vobiscum*<sup>74</sup>. It has likewise the suspicious interpolation *εκ γνωσαν*, Rom. i. 32. which I mentioned in the third section of this chapter. The charge therefore which has been laid to it,



seems not to be wholly ungrounded : but the alterations were probably not made by the transcriber who wrote this manuscript, for according to the account which Küster has given of his ignorance, he had hardly sufficient knowledge of Greek to enable him even to corrupt it<sup>75</sup>. It is possible therefore that he copied from a more ancient Latinizing manuscript. Wetstein conjectured, from the striking similarity, that it was transcribed from the Codex Augiensis<sup>76</sup>; but we are not in possession of the means of determining whether this conjecture be grounded, or not ; for he has entirely omitted the two most suspicious readings, Phil. i. 27. iii. 10. so that we are unable to determine whether they were in the Augiensis, the only one of these two which he himself collated<sup>77</sup>. He has acted in the same manner in regard to the extraordinary division which takes place not only in the sentences, but even in the words of the Boernerianus; for instance *εκατοις κοπιῶντες*, Phil. ii. 4. where the Latin version has *singuli laborantes*<sup>78</sup>. It is true then that the Boernerianus and Augiensis coincide in many readings, that are found in the Latin version, which might be peculiar to the Western edition, without affording a positive argument of corruption<sup>79</sup>. Unfortunately we are unable to consult the Augiensis itself, because we know not where it is at present preserved.

Another peculiarity of this manuscript is, that the doxology, Rom. xvi. 24—27. which many manuscripts have at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> chapter, is here omitted in both places<sup>80</sup>. This is likewise the case with the Claromontanus and Augiensis, with this difference, that the Boernerianus, after *αμαρτια εστιν*, at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> chapter, has a vacant place of six lines for the Greek text, and as many for the Latin version.

That this is an ancient manuscript, appears from the form of the characters, and the want of accents and marks of aspiration<sup>81</sup>. Yet, as far as we are able to judge at present, it has been altered from the Latin<sup>82</sup>, though it does not follow from this circumstance that all those readings are to be rejected, in which it coincides with

with the Latin version. I wish, that I had more knowledge of this manuscript, as I have frequently found it in favour of that, which appears to be the best reading, and, that an impartial critic would carefully inspect it, as it is difficult to form an adequate judgment, without examining the Greek and the Latin at the same time. We have reason to expect a critical account of it from Matthäi; but I fear that it will not be impartial, because he usually gives the title of *scurrilis recensio* to what Griesbach calls the Western edition<sup>3</sup>.

54. Codex Boreeli, noted F, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. contains the four Gospels, beginning with Matth. vii. 6. it has also the two following chasms, Matth. xiii. 25—58. and Mark vi. 6—16. It was formerly in the possession of John Boreel, Dutch ambassador at the court of London in the time of James I. We know not where it is at present, but Wetstein procured extracts from it by means of Verburgen, which were made soon after the death of Boreel, and inserted them in his collection<sup>4</sup>. But they extend not to the whole manuscript, going no farther than Luke x.

55. Fragmentum Borgianum, a fragment of a Coptic-Greek manuscript, brought by an ignorant monk from Egypt; but we know not how many books of the New Testament it contained, as the illiterate proprietor threw away the greatest part of his discovered treasure. The trifling remnant, consisting of about twelve leaves, he sent to Stephen Borgia, secretary to the society de propaganda fide. It begins with John vi. 28. and ends vii. 23. is divided into two columns, the first of which contains the Greek text in uncial letters, and without intervals between the words; the other column contains the Coptic. It is a very important specimen of the Alexandrine edition, and it is highly to be lamented that so much of it is lost. Hwiid, who saw this fragment at Rome, in the house of secretary Borgia, having observed that it had the reading *εταρατοι*, John vii. 49. to which he remembered that I had given the preference in my public lectures, obtained permission to extract its principal

cial readings, which, together with a description of this fragment, may be seen in my *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XVII. N<sup>o</sup>. 267<sup>85</sup>.

Britannicus *Erasmi*, in which 1 John v. 7. is said to be contained, is most probably the same with that which I shall describe in the sequel, under the title *Montfortianus*.

56. *Bunckle*, noted in *Mill Bu*, and 70 in the first part of *Wetstein's N. T.* It is a modern manuscript of the four Gospels, and was formerly in the possession of Dr. *Bunckle*, in London, whose extracts from it were communicated to *Mill*. Whether it was written a short time before, or a short time after the invention of printing, which last *Wetstein* asserted in opposition to *Mill*, is a matter of little importance. It is said to have been brought to England in 1476, and to have been written by *George of Sparta*, from whom we have a few other manuscripts of the Greek Testament. This is related by *Wetstein*, without mentioning the source from which he derived his intelligence; but it is probable that he speaks as eye-witness, and that he took his accounts from the subscription to the manuscript itself<sup>86</sup>.

57. *Byzantinus*, noted 86 in the first part of *Wetstein's N. T.* It is preserved at *Presburg*, contains the four Gospels, and was collated by *Wetstein*: we know nothing further of its antiquity, than that it was purchased by *Alexius Comnenus the Second*, in the year 1183.

*Cæsareus*, or *Cæsareanus*, must be sought under *Vindobonensis*.

58. *Camerarii*, noted 88 in the first part of *Wetstein's N. T.* a manuscript which *Joachim Camerarius* describes as ancient, and frequently quotes in his *Notes to the Gospels*<sup>87</sup>. It is one of those few which have *τρίτη* for *εχρη*, John xix. 14. which I believe to be a correction, though a very ancient one.

59. *Cantabrigiensis*, or *Cant. L.* or *Codex Bezae*, is that very ancient and celebrated manuscript which *Wetstein*, in the first and third parts of his *Greek Testament*, has noted by the letter D. Beside the well-known writers

on this subject, the reader may consult Semler's Appendix Observationum to his edition of Wettstein's Prolegomena, Obs. 2. and Griesbach's Symbolæ criticæ<sup>88</sup>, p. lv.—lxiv. It is a Greek and Latin<sup>1</sup> manuscript of the four Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles. In the Greek it is defective from the beginning to Matth. i. 20. in the Latin to Matth. i. 12. and has likewise the following chasms, Matth. vi. 20.—ix. 2. xxvii. 1—12. John i. 16.—ii. 26. Acts viii. 29.—x. 14. xxi. 2—10. xxii. 10—20. and from xxii. 29. to the end. The Gospels are arranged in the usual order of the Latin manuscripts, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The uncial letters, with the want of accents, of marks of aspiration, and of intervals between the words, discover a high antiquity, and perhaps of all the manuscripts now extant, this is the most ancient. It has a great number of corrections, of which the best account has been given by Griesbach<sup>89</sup>: many were made by the transcriber himself, but others have proceeded from a second, third, and even fourth hand; they betray different ages, and two corrections are sometimes at variance with each other, of which those made Matth. v. 36. afford an example. The extracts, which have hitherto been given of this manuscript, are extremely defective, because neither a proper distinction has been made between the corrections and the text itself, nor attention paid to the particular hand, from which each correction proceeded: it is difficult therefore, according to the opinion of Griesbach, to determine the edition, to which the Codex Cantabrigiensis properly belongs.

To this manuscript has been laid the charge that the Greek text has been altered from the Latin version<sup>90</sup>. It cannot be denied that some of the examples, which have been alleged in support of the accusation, are very extraordinary; for instance, the grammatical error *side to πνευμα τε δευ καταβαινοντα*, Matth. iii. 16. which has been termed

<sup>1</sup> The Latin text of St. John's Gospel has been printed by Semler, at the end of his Paraphrasis Evangelii Johannis. It was communicated to him by Kennicott.

termed an unhappy translation of the Latin *spiritum Dei descendentem*<sup>91</sup>. But a transcriber, who designedly made this alteration, must have been sufficiently acquainted with the Greek grammar, to know the difference between the masculine *καταβαίνοντα* and the neuter *καταβαινον*, and at the same time so ignorant as not to know that *πνεῦμα* was a neuter. Mill endeavours to account for this grammatical error, on the hypothesis that the transcriber intended to express the personality of the Holy Ghost, the construction being similar to *ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν ἐκ ἐγώ*, John i. 10. where the pronoun is masculine, though *τὸ φῶς* preceded in the ninth verse<sup>92</sup>. Other examples, in which this manuscript coincides with one or other of the Latin versions, I omit as of little importance.

On the other hand, I have found examples, which seem to rescue the copyist from the charge of having corrupted the Greek from the Latin, of which I will mention only two, though many more might be produced. 1. The Greek text varies sometimes even from the Latin version, with which it is accompanied. For instance, this is the only Greek manuscript now extant that has in the singular number *ἐξελθοντα ἀπο Βηθανίας ἐπεινάσεν*, Mark xi. 12. a reading which coincides with that of the Syriac version, ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, and with the Latin in the Codex Veronensis<sup>93</sup>; whereas the Latin text of the Cod. Cant. has the plural number, agreeably to the common reading, *ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν*, et alia die, cum exissent a Bethania, esuriit, as I was informed by Mr. Whiston, in a letter dated Feb. 2, 1756, who at my request examined this passage. 2. The Latin text appears in some cases<sup>94</sup> to have been altered from the Greek. For instance, the Latin version has in general *hic dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere*, at the end of Acts x. 6. but these words are omitted in the Latin text of the Cod. Cantabrigiensis, as well as of the Laudanus 3. the only two<sup>95</sup> in which the omission is observable, because the spurious addition *ἄτος λαλήσει σοι τι σε δεῖ ποιεῖν*, is rejected from the Greek text of those two manuscripts.

Of still more importance is its remarkable coincidence with several ancient versions. The first discovery which I made of this nature relates to the Syriac version, which harmonizes with the Cambridge manuscript in a manner that surpasses all expectation, and I may venture to affirm that this coincidence is at least ten times superior to what is discoverable between the Syriac version and any other Greek manuscript whatsoever. Notwithstanding the chasms in the Acts of the Apostles, it agrees with the Syriac versions in seventy-seven readings, that are found in no other manuscript, as may be seen in my *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, p. 82. and in the short Gospel of St. Mark I have likewise observed twenty-nine passages of this kind, namely iii. 11. 13. 17. iv. 15. 28. v. 21. 23. 26. 28. vi. 25. 28. 31. 38. 53. vii. 21. (in two readings in the same verse) viii. 1. ix. 3. x. 6. xii. 2. 14. 40. xiii. 19. xiv. 12. 30. 65. 67. 69. xv. 19. If therefore, as some critics have affirmed, the Cod. Cant. had been altered, throughout the whole, from a version, it would be most reasonable to suspect the Syriac<sup>k</sup>. But of late years there has been produced a still greater number of ancient testimonies, with which the Cambridge manuscript very evidently agrees.

1. One of those Greek manuscripts, which were collated with the Philoxenian version in the seventh century<sup>97</sup>.

2. The Coptic version, in a remarkable and characteristic reading, John xviii. 1. of which an account may be seen Ch. vii. sect. 13. of this Introduction<sup>98</sup>. The two following are likewise examples of coincidence with the Coptic, Mark iii. 21. *ὅτι ηἰκιστὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ γραμματεῖς*

*καὶ*

<sup>k</sup> Professor Storr in the 8<sup>th</sup> section of his *Observationes super Novi Testamenti versionibus Syriacis*, has produced several other examples, in which the Syriac version coincides with the Codex Cantabrigienſis, and at last conjectures that the latter has in some cases been improperly altered from the former, through a mistake of the Syriac text. If the conjecture be grounded, he has detected the perpetrator in the very act; and I confess that the examples, which he has given, are not devoid of probability<sup>96</sup>.

καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, and ver. 29. αμαρτίας, instead of the usual reading *κρίσεως*<sup>99</sup>.

3. The Sahidic version agrees in a very extraordinary manner with the Cambridge manuscript, an account of which may be seen in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 201 — 207<sup>100</sup>.

After a due consideration of all these circumstances, we shall hardly conclude that a Greek-Latin manuscript written in the West of Europe, where Latin only was spoken, has been altered from the Syriac; and the natural inference to be deduced is, that its readings are for the most part genuine, and of course preferable to those of modern manuscripts<sup>101</sup>. On the other hand, I will not deny that several appear to be faulty, being either scholia, or a substitution of an easy for a difficult reading, or the result of an alteration made to remove some unfavourable doctrine. I will mention a few of these which seem to be spurious, though, in consequence of the defective extracts, which have been made from this manuscript, I am unable to determine, whether they are readings of the first hand, or merely corrections; a knowledge of which must have material influence on our judgement of the manuscript itself. Matth. x. 4. we find *Χανααναιος* for *Καναανιτης*, an alteration which must be ascribed to the conceit of an ignorant transcriber, who changed a proper name, which was unknown to him, into one, with which he was acquainted; it is found in no manuscript, nor even in the Syriac version, but is peculiar to the Latin and the Coptic, and proceeded probably from a copyist, who was ignorant of the Oriental languages. Matth. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. we find in this manuscript alone *αναγει* for *αναφερει*, which has the appearance of a scholion, made in consequence of the objection to the latter reading, that Christ conducted, not carried his disciples to the Mount, in the same manner as Cicero vented his satire against a similar use of the Latin word *adferre*. Matth. xxi. 7, for *επεκαθισαν επανω αυτων*, a reading at which many had taken offence, because Christ could have sat on only one ass, not considering

dering that *αὐτῶν* might refer to *ἱματία*, we find in this manuscript alone *ἐπ' αὐτῶν*: it is true that this is the reading of the Latin version, but not of the Latin version alone, for it is likewise in the old Syriac, and the Coptic. Mark i. 41. the Cod. Cant. alone has *οργισθεῖς* for *σπλαγχνισθεῖς*, agreeably to the Latin *iratus*; a reading found also in the Corbejenfis 2. and the Vercellenfis<sup>102</sup>. This has all the appearance of an alteration from the Latin version, which in other manuscripts, both ancient and modern, has *misertus*. In the old Syriac, as well as in the Philoxenian, we find *ܡܝܫܪܬܝܬܐ* *misertus est*, which might be an erratum for *ܡܝܪܬܝܬܐ* *iratus est*, and give rise to the reading of the Cambridge manuscript, though it is possible that the reading of the latter was an early correction of some critic, who thought that a word expressive of anger was more suitable to the occasion, than one expressive of pity. Mark vi. 56. *πλατειαῖς* is peculiar to this manuscript, instead of *ἀγοραῖς*, an alteration which arose perhaps from the supposition that the former reading was more suitable to the context, which relates to towns and villages. It is admissible as a scholion, but not as a part of the text. In this example the Cambridge manuscript agrees with the Vulgate, which has in *plateis*; but it is by no means a necessary consequence, that the former was altered from the latter, since it might have been copied from a still more ancient manuscript, that had *ἐν πλατειαῖς*<sup>103</sup>. The Syriac *ܠܥܪܥܐ* is a medium between both, since it may be rendered either *street* or *market*<sup>104</sup>. Mark vii. 19. *εἰς ὅχeton ἐξέρχεται* is nothing more than a scholion for *εἰς τὸν ἀφ' ὧν ἀναβαίνει*, which is found in all the other manuscripts. Luke xvii. 22. it adds *τῶν* to the common text, having *μὴν τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων* *τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, and in the Latin we find in like manner *unum dierum HORUM filii hominis*, a reading found in no other manuscript, either Greek or Latin. This *τῶν* determines the sense of the passage, which without it is capable of more than one explanation; and the Latin appears in this case to have been altered from the Greek reading, which is peculiar



liar to this manuscript, and is found in none of the ancient versions, that in other respects agree with it, not even in the Syriac. Whether it is to be explained as a scholion, or an interpolation, I will not pretend to determine. Luke xxii. 16. *εως οτε καινον βρωθη*, in the Latin *usque quo novum edatur*, a reading found in no other either Greek or Latin manuscript, has all the appearance of a scholion<sup>105</sup>, and the Latin seems to have been altered from the Greek: the same may be said of *εν τη ημερα της ελευσεως σου*, in *die adventus tui*, Luke xxiii. 42. unless it be explained as a correction. John vi. 1. *εις τα μερη* is an addition peculiar to this manuscript, it being the only one that has *περαν της θαλασσης ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΜΕΡΗ της Τιβεριαδος*, and the Latin text of the Cod. Cant. which is here altered from the Greek, has *trans mare Galilææ in fines Tiberiadis*. The Vulgate, both ancient and modern, has very properly *trans mare Galilææ, quod est Tiberiadis*; but the old Latin version, in the Codex Veronensis, has in *fines* in common with the Cambridge manuscript, whereas all the others, which coincide not with the Vulgate, explain the passage by different additions, as may be seen in Blanchini<sup>106</sup>. Acts xii. 5. the Cod. Cant. alone has *πολλη δε προσευχη ην εν εκτειναι περι αυτου απο της εκκλησιας προς τον θεον περι αυτου*, and in the Latin, *multa vero oratio erat instantissime pro eo ab ecclesia ad Deum super ipso*, a reading which has been chiefly taken from the Greek<sup>107</sup>. Acts xii. 19. *αποκτανθηναι* for *απαχθηναι* seems to be a scholion, unless it be a correction from the Syriac, or the Coptic. Perhaps it was originally written as a marginal note, taken from one of these versions, and by degrees admitted into the text. This, at least, is certain, that it is not an alteration from one of the Latin versions, which have almost universally *duci*, and the Latin text of the Cambridge manuscript itself has, according to Sabatier, *vigiles jussit obduci*. Acts xiii. 47. the Cod. Cant. alone omits *ημιν*, and reads *εγω γαρ ενεταλχεν κυριος*, but not in the Latin, which is, according to Sabatier, *ita enim mandatum dedit nobis dominus*. It seems to be a designed omis-

sion, and that *ἡμῶν* was rejected by some ancient critic as a spurious reading, because the passage of Isaiah, which St. Paul immediately quotes, refers to Christ alone.

On the other hand, several of the readings in the Codex Cantabrigiensis are the very reverse of corrections, or modifications of a difficult passage: for instance, *καταλαβὼν*, John vii. 8. a text which has been exposed to the censure of Porphyry, and therefore altered by many transcribers, with a view of evading the objection, into *καὶ καταλαβὼν*<sup>108</sup>.

The result of the preceding remarks is, that the manuscript in question cannot possibly have been altered from the Latin, according to the charge which has been usually laid to it. The transcriber appears to have acted like a critic, to have corrected the text from the best help which he could procure, to have derived assistance from many ancient manuscripts, some of which perhaps had admitted scholia into the text, and at times to have ventured a critical conjecture. But till we are fully informed what readings are to be ascribed to the text itself, and what to subsequent corrections, it is impossible to decide on this subject with any certainty, which we shall more easily obtain, if to the above-mentioned information be added a diligent use of the Sahidic version. I defer therefore for the present my opinion on many points relative to this subject, and wait for the publication of Dr. Kipling, to whom none of these sources of information can be inaccessible.

The history of this most important manuscript must be related in an inverted order, because our knowledge of it in later times is certain, whereas the higher we ascend, the greater is the obscurity, in which we are involved, till at length we lose ourselves in the maze of those unwarranted conjectures, that have been ventured by Wettstein. At present it is the property of the University of Cambridge, which received it as a present from Beza, its former proprietor, in the year 1581. The learned donor was so far from over-rating the value of his manuscript, that, in his letter to the University, he expressed

pressed himself in the following manner: *etsi vero nulli melius quam vos ipsi, quæ sit huic exemplari fides habenda, æstimarint, hac de re tamen vos admonendos duxi, tantam a me, in Lucæ præsertim evangelio, repperitam esse inter hunc codicem et cæteros quantumvis veteres discrepantiam, ut vitandæ quorundam offensioni asservandum potius quam publicandum existimem.* This passage is the more entitled to our attention, as Wetstein, who sometimes forgets the rules of decorum, when he speaks of Beza, has accused him not only of being too precipitate, but even of acting unfairly, and of quoting this single manuscript as two different manuscripts confirming the same reading. He says, p. 34. *vereor ut Beza ipse omni culpâ careat, neque reperio quomodo ipsum crimine minus sincere administratæ rei liberare queam.*

According to Beza's own account, which he has repeated more than once, this manuscript was found at Lyons, in the monastery of St. Irenæus, in the year 1562, at the commencement of the civil war in France<sup>109</sup>, from which period he made use of it till the year 1581, and has frequently quoted it in his edition of the Greek Testament, published in 1582. Though he styles it in this publication *meus codex*, notwithstanding he had sent it to Cambridge the year before, yet no impartial critic can find with Wetstein in this circumstance a ground of suspicion: for it cannot be supposed that Beza made his remarks in the same year, in which the work was printed, but during the interval that elapsed between the editions of 1565 and 1582. At that time therefore he could give it no other name than that of *codex meus*, and it would have been surely absurd, because the manuscript was already sent to Cambridge when his remarks were ready for the press, to have altered in each of them *codex meus* into *codex olim meus*.

On the other hand, the account of Beza appears contradictory to the very probable assertion of Wetstein, that the Cod. Cant. and the Codex  $\beta$  Stephani, which, as he relates, some of his friends had collated in Italy, for his  
edition

edition of 1550, are one and the same manuscript. It is true that Beza quotes them as totally distinct; but very obvious circumstances decide in favour of Wettstein. Both manuscripts, if the expression is allowable where the same thing has merely two different names, contain only the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles: where the Cambridge manuscript has chasms, no readings are quoted by Stephens from the Codex  $\beta$ ; and the readings of the Codex Stephani  $\beta$ , among which are 450 lectiones singulares, are in general found in the Cambridge manuscript<sup>10</sup>. This discovery is of real importance, for, since the Cod. Cant. varies from the common Greek text in a greater degree than any other, it makes a material difference, whether the deviations are peculiar to this manuscript, or whether they are confirmed by other authority. Wettstein therefore, in order to avoid the error of producing two witnesses instead of one, has not admitted the Cod. Stephani  $\beta$  into his collection of various readings.

The animosity which Wettstein had excited in Basel, united with his harsh treatment of Beza, was the cause not only that this discovery was called in question by cool and impartial lovers of the truth, but that the author was attacked in a violent, and even virulent manner, in a work published in 1730, by an anonymous writer, and entitled *Specimen observationum in prolegomena, &c.* The only argument of real consequence, advanced in this work, is the following, that Stephens has quoted from his Codex  $\beta$  twenty passages, which vary from those in the Codex Cantabrigiensis. Bengel<sup>11</sup>, who speaks without warmth or partiality, has added to these twenty an instance taken from Acts xxi. 35. and I have found another, Acts xiii. 1. But the answer is easy, and has been really given by Wettstein<sup>12</sup>, namely, among so great a number of quoted readings, either Stephens himself,

or

<sup>1</sup> P. 445. of the first edition, p. 81, 82, of the second. He says, non interpono me in controversiam, quæ politicas potius quam criticas videtur rationes habere.

or the compositor, might have easily made twenty errata, either by inaccurately quoting the words, or setting the letter  $\beta$ , where another letter should have been placed. Wetstein's reply derives a great accession of probability from the doubts which he has started relative to the celebrated accuracy and diligence of Stephens<sup>m</sup>, and also from the following remark of the impartial Bengel, that, though the Complutensian Bible, and the Codex Stephani  $\alpha$ , are undoubtedly one and the same thing, yet more than twenty examples might be produced, where Stephens quotes from Codex  $\alpha$  what is not found in the Complutensian Bible. Wetstein has given likewise particular answers to the respective examples, of which I will quote the following, as it contains at the same time a new argument in favour of his discovery. Acts viii. 6. Stephens quotes from the Codex  $\beta$ , προσειχον δε οι οχλοι, and Mill, from the Cod. Cant. ως δε ημων παντες οι οχλοι, προσειχον. Now the Cambridge manuscript, according to Wetstein, has both these readings, one from the hand of the transcriber, the other from the hand of a corrector.

As it appears then that these two different titles belong in fact to one and the same manuscript, the question naturally arises, how could Beza give so contradictory an account, and quote them as different manuscripts?

Wetstein

<sup>m</sup> To this may be added what Semler has observed in his 46<sup>th</sup> Note to Wetstein's Prolegomena: quomodo fingi potest, ut Beza manibus suis teneat codicem, eumque diversum putet a Stephani  $\beta$ , si hic  $\beta$  fuit numero idem ille codex? Nunquamne, qui contulerat, Stephani filius oculis postea vidit hunc Bezæ librum? But this objection will be obviated, when we recollect that the manuscript was not collated by Henry Stephens, for his father says expressly, Το  $\beta'$  το εν Ιταλια υπο των ημετερον αντιληθεν φιλων<sup>113</sup>. Dr. Semler conjectures in his 44<sup>th</sup> Note that the Codex Stephani  $\beta$  might have been a transcript of the Cod. Cant. and brought to Italy a short time before it was collated. The same thought has likewise occurred to me, but it is attended with the following difficulties:

1. Stephens calls his Codex  $\beta$ , *vetustissimum* exemplar in Italia ab amicis collatum.

2. It

Wetstein conjectures, that Beza confounded the manuscript, which was discovered at Lyons, with that, which was brought from Clermont, in which latter place Wetstein believes that the Codex Cantabrigienfis was found; and supposes further, that Beza, who says that his MS. of St. Paul's epistles came from Clermont in the diocese of Beauvais, was here again guilty of a mistake, in confounding this place with Clermont in Auvergne". Now two such blunders together can hardly be ascribed to Beza, and I would rather suppose that a manuscript, which had been preserved in Italy till the year 1550, was brought by some accident to Lyons, and discovered there in 1562, by some one, who was ignorant of its value, and was able to give no further account of it<sup>16</sup>. The manuscript then was about the year 1550, in Italy, that is, according to a conjecture of Wetstein, which is still less probable than the former, at Trent<sup>17</sup>. For, since William

2. It is difficult for a transcript to harmonize so perfectly with the original, as is really the case with the Cod. Cant. and the Cod. A, even if allowance be made for the two-and-twenty readings in which they appear to differ<sup>14</sup>.

Wetstein adds, as a new argument in support of his conjecture, that Beza, in his last edition, published in 1595, calls our manuscript Claromontanus, in his Notes to Luke xix. 26. and Acts xx. 3. The truth of this assertion cannot be denied; but if we reflect that Beza was at that time seventy-six years old, that he had sent his manuscript to Cambridge fourteen years before that period, and that he entirely lost the use of his memory in the latter part of his life, the inference, which Wetstein deduces, loses all probability. The two quotations, which he has made from Beza's last edition, are to be found in none of the preceding, and they cannot be considered as corrections of former mistakes. These two notes, which may be regarded as new at that time, as far as concerns the publication, he had probably put to paper before the year 1581, in which he gave away the manuscript, but had not printed them, as being of little importance. Many years afterwards, agreeably to the usual practice of men of learning toward the close of their lives, he collected his scattered papers, and being deprived of his memory, it is no wonder that he confounded the Codex Cantabrigienfis, which he had not seen during fourteen years, with the Claromontanus, which was still in his possession, as the two manuscripts are so nearly allied<sup>15</sup>.

liam a Prato Bishop of Clermont, brought with him to the Council of Trent a Greek manuscript, from which he quoted John xxi. 22. *εαν αυτον δελω μενεις οττως εως ερχομαι*, a reading found only in the Cod. Cant., Wetstein, who heaps conjecture on conjecture, concludes that the Bishop had the Cod. Cant. and that it ought to have been called Claromontanus<sup>118</sup>. But this argument of Wetstein rests on very uncertain ground, as coincidence in a single reading is a weak proof of the identity of whole manuscripts<sup>119</sup>.

Having thus far advanced, he takes a flight of not less than seven centuries, and is so fortunate as to find the manuscript again in France about the year of Christ 840: Druthmar relates that he had seen a Greek manuscript of the Gospels, in which that of St. John immediately follows that of St. Matthew. Now this conjecture reminds me of the story of one who heard of a blind man, and immediately asked if it were Homer. Surely no one will doubt, that nine hundred years ago there were other Greek manuscripts, in which the Latin order of the Gospels was observed, beside the Codex Cantabrigienfis: and, independent of the objection which Semler has made, that this manuscript is Latin as well as Greek, it may be observed, that it contains likewise the Acts of the Apostles, which Druthmar has not related of his manuscript<sup>120</sup>.

Lastly, Wetstein takes a still bolder step, and discovers the Cod. Cant. among those which were collated at Alexandria in 616, for the New Syriac version, because he found a coincidence in several readings, which he has counted as far as eleven. This is a weak argument in favour of an assertion, which is in itself highly improbable, since we can have no reason to suppose that to Egyptian manuscripts of the Greek Testament, would be added a Latin translation°. As Wetstein made use of Ridley's manuscripts of the Heracleian version during only fourteen days, it is hardly possible that he had sufficient time

• A more probable argument, as well as the answer to it, may be seen in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 177<sup>121</sup>.

time to examine, whether his supposed discovery were really grounded. The public library at Alexandria was soon after that period reduced to ashes; the question therefore proposed by Wetstein, *quid necesse est alium similem atque gemellum creare, eumque statim ad nihilum redigere*, is totally useless. Besides, Ridley has clearly shewn, p. 61, 62. of his dissertation, that the Cambridge manuscript cannot possibly have been one of those which were used by Thomas of Heraclea, because its characteristic readings are not discoverable in the extracts, which were added by the editor<sup>22</sup>.

With respect to the use which has been made of this manuscript; I have mentioned above, that Stephens made extracts from it, though with no great accuracy, under the title *Codex β*, for the edition of the Greek Testament, of 1550, and likewise Beza for his own edition, which was published in 1582. Since it was sent to the University of Cambridge, it has been more accurately collated by Junius: his extracts were used by Curcellæus and Morinus, of whom the latter had principally in view to defend the Latin version, and those readings which agree with it. A fourth, and much more accurate collation, was made at the instigation of Usher, and the extracts were inserted in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. Mill collated it a fifth and sixth time, as he assures us, sect. 1418, 1419, and found a variety of matter which had escaped the notice of his predecessors: but that his extracts are likewise defective, appears on comparing them with Wetstein's New Testament<sup>23</sup>. This last-mentioned critic has exerted the most zeal and diligence, having transcribed the whole of this manuscript in the year 1716. The world therefore is in possession of two written copies of the same manuscript, and the critic, into whose hands the transcript of Wetstein may hereafter fall, must take care to avoid the error of quoting it as a new evidence<sup>24</sup>.

Lastly, the University of Cambridge has come to a resolution in the present year 1787, of printing the whole manuscript, in letters of the same form and magnitude as the original hand-writing, and has committed the



publication to the care of Dr. Kipling. It is an undertaking of very great importance, for which I acknowledge my particular thanks, it being the completion of a wish, that I have expressed on several occasions, though my advanced age gives me little reason to hope that I should survive the publication.

60. Cantabrigienfis 2, according to Mill, a manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, the catholic epistles, and the epistles to the Hebrews, written on vellum, and supposed by Thomas Gale to be five or six hundred years old. It has the following chasms, Acts i. 1—10. xviii. 20—xx. 14. James v. 14. to the end of the epistle; 1 Peter 1—3. and a part of the fourth chapter. It has been collated by Mill<sup>p</sup>: but as he describes it, § 1419, as if it contained no other of St. Paul's epistles, than that to the Hebrews, it is inconceivable how it can be quoted so often for the others. We can make no other conclusion than that they are really contained in this manuscript, and that Mill has expressed himself inaccurately<sup>125</sup>.

61. Cantabrigienfis 3, or Codex collegii Emanuelis Cantabrigiæ, noted 30 in the second part of Wetstein's  
N. T.,

<sup>p</sup> I am at a loss to determine whether Wetstein has entirely omitted this manuscript, or whether he has only given it a false name. It appears to me to be the same as that which he has noted 29 in the second part, and 24 in the third, his description of which is attended with more than one mistake. His account of the Cod. 29, in the second part, is as follows: Codex Oxoniensis collegii Christi membranaceus in octavo continet acta et epistolas apostolorum. Desunt tamen Act i. ad vers. 10, item ab xviii. 20. ad xx. 14. Quingentorum est annorum. Thomas Gale contulit et cum editore Oxoniensi N. T. anni 1675 communicavit. Here Oxoniensis seems to be an erratum for Cantabrigienfis, because his Cod. Oxon. has the same chasms as Mill's Cod. Cant. the same antiquity likewise is ascribed to it, and in the third part Wetstein himself describes his Codex 24, 'Cantabrigienfis collegii Christi, Tom. II. p. 13. num. 28,' where 28 appears to be an erratum for 29, because n. 28. is the Baroccianus which I have described above N°. 35, and which in Wetstein's third part is Codex 23. Besides, at Oxford there is no Collegium Christi, but Corpus-Christi College, and Christ-Church College. One circumstance however occasions some perplexity, namely, that Wetstein appeals not to Mill, but to Gale. As I am not in possession of the Oxford edition of 1675, on which the whole depends, I am unable to determine the question<sup>126</sup>.

N. T., in the third 53. This is a very neatly written, but not ancient, manuscript of all the epistles. It has many chasms, for the catholic epistles begin with the middle of 2 Pet. i. and is not legible before 2 Peter ii. 4. It is likewise defective from 1 John iii. 20. as far as the end of the third epistle; that of St. Jude also is wanting, and it has likewise the two following chasms, 1 Cor. xi. 7—xv. 56. and from Heb. xi. 27. to the end of the epistle<sup>127</sup>. Its readings were first published in the London Polyglot, from which they were taken by Mill and Wettstein<sup>128</sup>.

I will mention two of them, in order to enable the reader to judge of the manuscript itself. Ephes. ii. 4. for *αγαπην*, it has the unusual word *ισοπλαγχνιαν*, a reading found in no other manuscript; and Heb. x. 6. it alone agrees with the Vulgate, and the Syriac version, in the omission of *και*, an error which probably took its rise in the Syriac<sup>129</sup>, as this version has the whole passage literally from the version of the Psalms.

62. Cantabrigiensis, n. 495 in the University library, noted 26 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 21, is a manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, written in the twelfth century, but has many chasms. The eleven first chapters of the Acts are totally wanting, likewise xiv. 13—xv. 10. Rom. xi. 22—33. the three first chapters of the first epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Tim. i. and iii. with the epistles to Philemon and the Hebrews<sup>130</sup>. According to Wettstein's account, Mill, though he has not described this manuscript, has yet collated it and called it Luc. because Professor Lucas brought it with him from the East. Whether this be true, or not, I am unable to determine<sup>131</sup>. Wettstein collated it in 1716.

63. Cantabrigiensis, n. 496 in the University Library, noted 27 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the epistles of St. Paul, beginning with that to the Galatians, and was collated by Wettstein in 1716<sup>132</sup>.

64. Carpzovianus, noted 78 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum, which Küster judging from the letters, supposed to be 600 years old. John Gottlob Carpzov of

Leipzig had it in his possession; and Küster procured from Dr. Boerner those extracts, which he inserted in Mill's edition of the Greek Testament.

Des Champs, See Regius 2243.

65. Claromontanus, or Regius 2245, preserved in the royal library in Paris, where at present it is marked Cod. Græc. 107, noted D in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, whose antiquity was estimated by Sabatier at 1200 years. It contains the epistle to the Hebrews; though this epistle is omitted in the catalogue of the books of the New Testament, which is annexed to the epistle to Philemon, a proof that this catalogue was made by a member of the Latin church, which formerly rejected the epistle to the Hebrews. In the same catalogue the Latin order of the Gospels is likewise observed, namely, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

Beza, who had this manuscript in his possession, and was the first that made use of it, has given it the title Claromontanus from Clermont in Bauvaisis, where it is said to have been preserved. But Wetstein contends that this is a mistake, and that Beza confounded it with Cant. I. He conjectures that it was brought into Switzerland from the monastery of Cluny, which the Swiss plundered, and that Beza designedly concealed the manner in which he became possessed of it<sup>9</sup>. This is one of Wetstein's partial and unjust reflections on Beza, for if he procured it either by purchase or present, and thereby rescued it from destruction, he might surely have avowed it openly, without exposing himself to the charge of a literary theft, or the danger of having his manuscript redemanded. It is however of little consequence to know where it had been kept before that period. From the hands of Beza it came into the Putean library<sup>13</sup>, and was bequeathed by the proprietor, with all his other manuscripts, to the royal library in Paris, where it is preserved at present. According to the accounts of Wetstein and Sabatier, thirty-six leaves were cut out  
of

<sup>9</sup> Beza, nescio quo pacto, hoc enim studiose silentio involvit; acquisivit.

of it', in the beginning of this century, and sold in England, but they were sent back by Lord Oxford in 1729<sup>e</sup>. The manuscript therefore is again complete, as there fails only the covering, in which the stolen sheets had been inclosed, which is kept in the British Museum, and filled with the letters that passed on the occasion, as a monument of this infamous theft.

This manuscript, like other codices græco-latini, has been accused of having a Greek text, that has been altered from the Latin. In support of this charge, Wettstein has produced several examples which deserve to be examined, but they are not all of equal weight<sup>15</sup>. I will not presume to assert that the charge is wholly ungrounded, for it has the suspicious reading *ex evonσav* Rom. i. 32. which I noticed in the third section of this chapter. But at the same time, it harmonizes with other  
ancient

\* It is probable that the person guilty of this scandalous transaction was John Aymon, of whom Uffenbach relates in Vol. III. of his Travels, p. 475, that he shewed him, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1711, twelve single leaves of quarto vellum, that discovered the most venerable antiquity, taken from a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, and at the same time added, that the remainder of the manuscript was in the royal library in Paris. Uffenbach describes Aymon as a noted literary thief, whose person was not in safety, as he had robbed both the royal and private libraries.

\* I have received the following account from a friend who was himself in Paris, and saw this manuscript. 'A librarian has prefixed the following remark: *Manuscrit, gaté par Aymon, qui en a coupé 31 feuillets, to which is added by another hand, Ou plutot 35.* To this manuscript belongs a second volume noted likewise 107, which contains the leaves, that had been cut out, and in which is the following remark: *Ce Volume contenant trente-quatre feuillets arrachés, ou coupés du fameux et précieux MS<sup>cr</sup>. des Epitres de St. Paul par l'Apôstat et le Scelerat Aymon, fut renvoyé à M. l'Abbé Bignon au mois de—, 1720, par Milord d'Oxford, Seigneur Anglois. Il les avoit achetés, ou fait acheter du voleur Aymon.* In this small volume, beside the above-mentioned thirty-four leaves, is found a single leaf not stitched with the rest, at the bottom of which is written, *Feuillet envoyé de Hollande par Mr. Stofch, Mars 1720.* It is the 149<sup>th</sup> leaf, and contains the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians.' The friend to whom I am indebted for this account is Professor Schweighäuser in Strasburg<sup>16</sup>.

ancient versions, more especially the Syriac; and as no one can suppose that this manuscript has been corrupted from them all, no other cause of coincidence can be assigned, than its high antiquity. Heb. xi. 35. it has in conjunction with the Cod. Alex. *ελαβον γυναικας*, which is undoubtedly a false reading, because the following words *της νεκρης αυτων* are left without meaning. This accusative seems to be the remnant of a reading expressed by the Syriac version *γυναικας εξ αναστασεως νεκρων της αυτων*<sup>1</sup>, in the Syriac, *ܐܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ* reddiderunt mulieribus filios ipsarum ex resurrectione mortuorum<sup>136</sup>. Perhaps this verse has another various reading, which Wetstein has not quoted, for the Latin text is, *acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuorum fuorum*, which expressed in Greek would be *ελαβον γυναικας εξ αναστασεως νεκρων αυτων*, which with exception to *της* is agreeable to the Syriac reading. Heb. xii. 3. it has, in conjunction with the Codex Sangermanensis, a reading that gives a totally different sense from the common text, and that from the first hand, *αναλογισασθε γαρ\* τοιαυτην υπομεμενηκοτα απο των αμαρτωλων εις εαυτας αντιλογιαν*, which is likewise expressed in the Syriac version, *ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ*, qui fuerunt sibi ipsis adversarii; and as the Latin text of the Codex Claromontanus is, *recogitate talem vos portasse a peccatoribus in vobis adversitatem*, it was evidently made from the particular Greek text of the Claromontanus, as the common Latin version follows the usual reading<sup>137</sup>. Still more extraordinary is the coincidence of the Latin text with the Syriac version, Heb. xii. 18. though, as far as we can judge from the extracts, that have been given of this manuscript, the coincidence does not take place in the Greek text. The Syriac translator, as well as the Coptic and Armenian, has omitted *ορει*, and the first has translated the passage *ܐܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ* which the author of the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, must have like-

wise

\* I omit the verb, because I am unable to conjecture what it might have been.

\* The Sangermanensis after *γας* has *τω*.

wife found in the Syriac, for he has *الى النار مجسوسة مضطربة*. Now it is difficult to determine what is the meaning of *ad ignem ardentem et palpabilem*, and were it not expressed in other versions, I should suppose that it originated from a mistake of a Syrian transcriber, into which he was led by the similarity of the words *Nuro* and *Turo*, and that the true text were *الى النار مضطربة*. But this extraordinary reading is in the Latin text of the Claromontanus, where we find, *non enim accessistis ad ardentem et tractabilem ignem*; but the Greek text, if we may conclude from the extracts which have been produced, must have the common reading *ορε*<sup>138</sup>. It really deserves to be more nearly inspected, in order to see whether a correction has been made in this passage.

The preceding examples, which have occurred to me on examining only a few chapters, shew that this very ancient manuscript deserves a more accurate examination than has been hitherto bestowed on it<sup>139</sup>, and proves at the same time that the suspicion of its having been altered throughout from the Latin is ungrounded. Were any inference of this kind to be drawn, we might with more reason suspect the Syriac, but this is a version, from which no one can suppose that alterations were made in a manuscript, written in Greek and Latin in the west of Europe. Whoever wishes to examine two other important readings, may have recourse to 2 Cor. iv. 1. Gal. ii. 5. I cannot conclude without expressing a sincere desire that this manuscript might be printed like the Codex Alexandrinus, but I have little reason to expect its completion, as most probably it will never be known in France, that I have ever expressed it.

Mill contended that the Codex Claromontanus was the second part of the Cantabrigiensis, but Weistein has sufficiently confuted this opinion, and shewn that the former is by no means connected with the latter, as appears from the difference of their form, their orthography, and the nature of the vellum on which they are

written. This has likewise been confirmed by Griesbach in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. lvi. who has examined both manuscripts<sup>140</sup>.

Beza was the first who made use of the Claromontanus: it was afterwards collated by Morinus, with a view of discovering readings in support of the Vulgate: more copious extracts were given in the London Polyglot, which Mill transferred to his Greek Testament, and Wettstein has twice collated it himself in 1715 and 1716, but the extracts from the leaves, which were at that time wanting, he procured from Nieuwenhuis. The Latin version published by Sabatier, was taken from this manuscript and the Sangermanensis.

66. For the extracts taken from the 14 following manuscripts<sup>141</sup>, we are wholly indebted to the industry of Wettstein, namely,

Coislinianus 1, noted F in the third part of Wettstein's N. T., contains a part of the Old Testament, and properly speaking has no reference to the New. But as a passage of the latter, namely, Acts ix. 24, 25. is found in it written in the same hand, which discovers so high an antiquity as the eighth century<sup>142</sup>, Wettstein has given it a place in his catalogue.

67. Coislinianus 20, noted 36 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the eleventh century brought from mount Athos, and containing the four Gospels.

68. Coislinianus 21, noted 37 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels written in the eleventh century.

69. Coislinianus 22, noted 40 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels brought from mount Athos: it is defective from John xx. 25. to the end: it is said to be written inaccurately, and to contain readings of little value.

70. Coislinianus 23, noted 39 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, was brought from mount Athos, and written in the twelfth century<sup>143</sup>. According to the subscription it was presented to the  
monastery

monastery of St. Athanasius, on that mount, in the year 1218. Wetstein supposes it to be a mere transcript of the Codex Coislinianus 195.

71. Coislinianus 24, noted 41 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains various commentaries on St. Matthew and St. Mark: it was written in the eleventh century.

72. Coislinianus 25, noted 15 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles: it was written in the eleventh century.

73. Coislinianus 26, noted 19 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., and in the third 16, contains commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, and was written in the eleventh century.

74. Coislinianus 27, noted 20 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript brought from mount Athos, containing the epistles of St. Paul with commentaries, but is very defective, and in bad preservation.

75. Coislinianus 195, noted 34 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a very neatly written manuscript of the eleventh century: it contains the four Gospels, and was brought from mount Athos.

76. Coislinianus 199, noted 35 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 18, in the third 14, and in the fourth 17, contains the whole New Testament, was written in the eleventh century, and was brought from mount Athos: in many places it has corrections. Professor Storr in his dissertation de versionibus Syriacis N. T. § 35. has shewn that Wetstein has collated it inaccurately, and been guilty of many omissions<sup>144</sup>.

77. Coislinianus 200, noted 38 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 23, and in the third 19, contains the whole of the New Testament, except the book of Revelation. It has several chasms, for instance, Matth. xiv. 15—xv. 30. xx. 14—xxi. 27. Mark xii. 3—xiii. 4. but it seems as if Wetstein had not noted them all<sup>145</sup>. It was certainly written in the thirteenth century, having been sent as a present from the court of



of Constantinople to Louis IX. of France<sup>146</sup>. According to Wetstein, it is the same manuscript as Stephens has quoted under the Title Codex 3.

78. Coislinianus 202<sup>n</sup>, noted 22 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., and in the fourth 18, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, and was written in the thirteenth century. 1 Pet. ii. 8. it has a reading which is either the genuine one, or a very ingenious conjecture, *εις ο και επεθησαν*<sup>148</sup>. See Gen. xi. 6. xxiii. 5, 7, 12, 16, 20. But I am rather inclined to take it for a conjecture, made with the view to avoid a reading at which many had taken offence. It may be asked whether this manuscript contains other readings of this nature?<sup>149</sup>

79. Wetstein, in the second part of his Greek Testament, has another Codex Coislinianus, which he notes by the letter H, and says it contains fragments of the epistles of St. Paul: but there must be an error relative to the number, either of the writer, or of the printer<sup>150</sup>. I have observed a remarkable reading in this manuscript, which is likewise found in the Alexandrinus, namely, 1 Cor. x. 28. *ιερωθυτον* for *ειδωλοθυτον*.

80. Coislinianus 205, noted 21 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 17, and in the fourth 19, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, with the following chasms, 1 Cor. xvi. 17—2 Cor. i. 7. Heb. xiii. 15. to the end of the epistle, and Rev. i. 1—ii. 5. though this last chasm has been filled up by a modern hand. It appears from a subscription, that it was purchased by one Antonius a monk in the year 1079<sup>151</sup>.

81. The following Codices Colbertini<sup>152</sup>, I will arrange, not according to the numbers by which they are marked, but after the order in which they are placed by Wetstein, by which means will be avoided the tedious repetition of the persons, by whom they have been collated,

Colber-

\* Perhaps this is a mistake for 102. Treschow p. 9. of his Tentamen writes as follows: de codice 202 hoc monendum est, aut in numerando codices Coislinianos Wetstenium non semper bibliothecam Coislinianam sequutum esse, aut aperte errasse, quando in II parte N. T. Coisl. 202 ab littera H, et etiam sub numero 22 attulit<sup>147</sup>.

Colbertinus 2467, noted 22 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels.

82. Colbertinus 3947, noted 23 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels. Those of St. Matthew and St. Mark are accompanied with a Latin version.

83. Colbertinus 4112, noted 24 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, at present Cod. Regius 178, was written in the eleventh century, and has a great many corrections, which are by no means unimportant. Griesbach supposes that the transcriber made use of many manuscripts: he has given a specimen of its readings in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxv.

84. Colbertinus 2259, noted 25 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ*, p. clxiv.

85. Colbertinus 4078, noted 26 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and was written in the eleventh century.

The five preceding manuscripts were collated by Simon, and their readings noted in the margin of Curcellæus's edition of the Greek Testament: but the number of the manuscripts is mentioned in favour of each reading without their being particularly specified<sup>13</sup>. This copy was given by Allix to Wettstein, who transferred these marginal notes into his collection of readings; but he was obliged in this instance to deviate from his usual mode of notation, and instead of writing *Codex 22, 23, &c.* he could only mention *Colbertinus unus, Colbertini duo, &c.* being unable to determine the manuscripts themselves.

86. Colbertinus 6043, in Mill Colb. 1, noted 27 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, in which many readings have been erased, and others substituted in their stead.

87. Colbertinus 4705, in Mill Colb. 2, noted 28 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a copy of the four Gospels, whose antiquity was estimated by Mill at 700 years<sup>14</sup>. He says that it is full of chasms, that one Gospel

Gospel is interpolated from another, that its readings differ considerably from the usual text, and that it appears to have been written by a Latin transcriber. But the sentiments of Mill, which are unfavourable to its readings, have been called in question by Wettstein<sup>55</sup>. This I have myself observed on carefully collating the Syriac version of St. Mark's Gospel, that this manuscript agrees with the Syriac in particular readings, which it has in common with the Latin. See the *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 179.

88. Colbertinus 6066, in Mill Colb. 3. noted 29 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with exception to the fifteen first chapters of St. Matthew. Mill relates, that he discovered in the text of this manuscript many marginal notes, and initiatory formulæ, taken from the *Lecttionaria*.

89. Colbertinus 4444, in Mill Colb. 4. and noted 30 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. Mill speaks of 'variationes e xvi. prioribus capitibus Matthæi,' which words I have retained, because I know not whether he means, that the manuscript has only various readings, or the sixteen chapters themselves<sup>56</sup>. The description of Wettstein is agreeable to the latter acceptation, but he has not mentioned whether Mill's account be accurate, from which alone he seems to have borrowed his own.

90. Colbertinus 6083, likewise noted by Mill Colb. 4<sup>x</sup>. who unites it with the preceding<sup>57</sup>, but distinguished by Wettstein, who has marked it Codex 31. Both of them describe it as containing various readings of the remaining chapters of St. Matthew, and the six first chapters, with the half of the seventh, of St. Mark's Gospel. Their description seems to imply that it has merely various readings, but it is probable that it contains

\* This manuscript is understood by Mill when he quotes Colb. 4. for *αὐτῶν* instead of *αὐτῆς* Matth. xxvii. 53. and Wettstein is guilty of an error in calling it Cod. 30; for his Cod. 30 has only the sixteen first chapters of St. Matthew<sup>58</sup>. The reading is remarkable, as it is peculiar to this manuscript, and entirely alters the sense, but it has the appearance of a critical conjecture.

tains the text itself, and that Mill has expressed himself with inaccuracy, which Wetstein has not corrected<sup>59</sup>.

91. Colbertinus 6511, in Mill Colb. 5, noted 32 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a fragment, beginning with Matth. x. 22. and ending with the xxv<sup>th</sup> chapter.

92. Colbertinus 2844, in Mill, who divided it into three separate manuscripts<sup>60</sup>, Colb. 6, 7, 8. and noted 33 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 17, in the third 13. It contains the whole New Testament, except the book of Revelation, and was in Mill's time supposed to be 600 years old. This critic has asserted that it has many interpolations, of which perhaps that is an instance, which I have remarked in the *Curæ* in *Actus Apost. Syr.* § xi. p. 179. namely, that this is the only Greek manuscript which has *κορασιον* for *παιδιον*, Mark v. 39. agreeably to the Syriac and Latin versions; but this reading is probably an interpolation from St. Matthew, as Wetstein has already observed. It is the only Greek manuscript, except the Codex Stephani η, which has *μονογενης θεος*, John i. 18. a reading confirmed by very many quotations of the fathers<sup>61</sup>; and the only one which confirms my conjecture, that *εν ταις καρδιαις υμων* is the true reading, 2 Cor. iii. 2. unless we suppose it to be the result of a conjecture in the transcriber of this manuscript. Acts xxi. 25. *μηδεν τοιςτοις τηρειν αυτες ει μη*, which I suspect to be a scholion, is omitted in this manuscript, and two others only, but the omission is confirmed by the Vulgate, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic. This manuscript, which appears to me of real importance, is described by Griesbach in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxvi. who defends it against the suspicion of its having been altered from the Latin, relates that its readings harmonize with those of Origen, refers it to the eleventh or twelfth century, and estimates it as a manuscript of great value.

Of the manuscripts mentioned in the seven last numbers, and which are given in Mill's Greek Testament as eight manuscripts, that learned critic has given a col-

lection

lection of readings, which was made by Larroque, and communicated by Allix. But Larroque appears to have executed the task in a very superficial manner, for Griebach mentions in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxviii. that he has discovered in the 18 first chapters of St. Matthew, in the last-mentioned manuscript, above 300 readings, many of which are of importance, that Larroque has entirely omitted. The manuscript therefore deserves to be collated anew.

93. The twelve following Codices Colbertini are simply *Lecttionaria* of the four Gospels, which Wetstein collated in 1715.

Colbertinus 700, noted 1 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, who refers it to the ninth century, but other critics ascribe to it a greater antiquity.

94. Colbertinus 2215, noted 2 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is at present incomplete.

95. Colbertinus 614, noted 7 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, was written in the thirteenth century.

96. Colbertinus 648, noted 8, among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, a manuscript of the fourteenth century.

97. Colbertinus 681, noted 9 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is defective, and in particular the portions of scripture, appointed to be read on the festivals, are wanting.

98. Colbertinus 721, noted 10 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is still more imperfect.

99. Colbertinus 1265, noted 11 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, appears to have been a part of the preceding.

100. Colbertinus 824, noted 12 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is defective in the beginning.

101. Colbertinus 1241, noted 13 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*; many leaves are wanting.

102. Colbertinus 1282, noted 14 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*.

103. Colbertinus 1824, noted 15 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*.

104. Colbertinus 2465, noted 16 among Wettstein's Evangelistaria.

Colbertinus 5149 will be described under the title Codex Cyprius.

105. Corfendoncensis, noted 3 in the first, second, and third parts of Wettstein's N. T. The name was given it by Erasmus, who used it in his second edition of the Greek Testament, when it belonged to the Collegium Corfendoncense<sup>162</sup>. With exception to the book of Revelation, it contains the whole New Testament: and appears to have been written in the twelfth century. The transcriber has shewn great ignorance in his manner of inserting marginal notes into the text, for he has written, 2 Cor. viii. 4. *δεξασθαι ημας, εν πολλοις των αντιγραφων υτως ευρηται, και υκαθως ηλπισαμεν*<sup>163</sup>. Wettstein likewise contends that the text has been sometimes altered from the Latin. It was collated by Walker<sup>164</sup>, whose extracts were inserted in Wettstein's collection. It is at present in the imperial library at Vienna, whither it was brought from that of Prince Eugene, is noted Auctarii 15, and is described in Treschow's Tentamen, p. 85—89<sup>165</sup>.

106. Cottonianus, is marked in the Cotton library Tit. C. 15. and in Wettstein's first part Codex I; it contains only the following fragments, Matth. xxvi. 57—65. xxvii. 26—34. John xiv. 2—10. xv. 15—22. and in several places has corrections: Wettstein collated it in 1715<sup>166</sup>.

107. Cottonianus, ranked in the Cotton library under Vespasianus B. XVIII. in the second and third parts of Wettstein's N. T. Lectionarium 2; contains the portions of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistles, appointed to be read throughout the whole year, and is said to have been written in the eleventh century. Casley collated it in 1735, and Wettstein inserted his extracts.

108. John Covell, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, brought with him from the East the five following manuscripts, which were collated by Mill,

Covellianus

Covellianus 1, noted 65 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels<sup>167</sup>.

109. Covellianus 2, noted 31 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 25, in the fourth 7, is a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, written in the year 1087<sup>168</sup>. It has several very extraordinary readings, for instance *παση ανθρωπινη φυσηι*, 1 Pet. ii. 13. The Syriac translator has here *ܐܡܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܢܗ*, omnibus hominibus, whence it appears that *φυσις* is a mere scholion for *κτισις*. *Πνευμα* instead of *χρυσμα*, 1 John ii. 27. which this manuscript has in common with the Coptic and Ethiopic versions, is an evident scholion; for Wettstein quotes *χρυσμα το πνευμα*<sup>169</sup>. From these examples, it appears that the manuscript is of no great value.

110. Covellianus 3, noted 32 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 26, has the Acts of the Apostles, beginning with ch. i. 11, with all the Epistles, and was supposed by Mill to be 500 years old. Rom. xi. 33. it has *Ω βαθος πλετε σοφιας*, without the *και*, an omission peculiar to this manuscript, the Sangermanensis, and the Vulgate. It may be asked therefore, whether it belongs to the Western edition, and whether it has more readings of this kind?

111. Covellianus 4, noted 33 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 27, contains the Acts and Epistles, but is written in a modern hand<sup>170</sup>.

112. Covellianus 5, called likewise Sinaiticus, because Covell brought it from mount Sinai, noted 34 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 28, and in the fourth 8, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation; but it has been injured, and rendered illegible in very many places, by the dampness of the place

in

7 This is the case in 1 John v. 7, 8. But Woide has with great difficulty discovered the following words and letters: — . . . . . *οτι το πνευμα . . . . . αλ . . . . . ο . . . . . ι τρεις εισι . . . . . μαρτυρον . . . . . το πνευμα το υδαρ και το αιμα . . . . . τρεις εισ το . . . . . μαρτυρι . . . . . θ . . . . . αν . . . . . νομεν* . and says 1 John v. 7. is undoubtedly wanting, which is likewise confirmed by Mill: but the legible passages ought carefully to be distinguished from the illegible.

in which it had been kept. It begins with Acts i. 20. and the last lines of the book of Revelation are likewise wanting. It is preserved, as I have been informed by Woide, in the British Museum, in the Harleian library, and noted N<sup>o</sup> 5778.

113. Cyprius, or Colbertinus 5149, noted K in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a copy of the four Gospels, brought from the island of Cyprus, and referred by Simon to the tenth century. He collated it, and his extracts were inserted in Mill's edition. According to Wettstein, it is a latinizing manuscript, but this charge, though laid to so many by that critic, is seldom grounded. The very ancient reading, *οὐκ ἀναβαίνω*, John vii. 8. which this manuscript has in common with the Cantabrigiensis, and which in later manuscripts is altered to *οὐπω ἀναβαίνω*, because Porphyry had used it as a ground of objection, deserves particular attention, and is undoubtedly no alteration from the Latin, because it is found in several Moscow manuscripts, quoted by Matthæi, but to be ascribed to the high antiquity of these manuscripts, and the honesty of the transcribers, who ventured not to alter the text, in order to avoid the ridicule of Porphyry. This manuscript appears to me to be of great value, and I wish that we had more accurate extracts from it. A fac-simile of its characters, engraved in copper-plate, may be seen in Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. I. p. 492. pl. 3<sup>d</sup> from that page.

114. Douzæ, noted 79 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a Greek-Latin manuscript of the four Gospels, which is quoted in the eighth chapter of St. John, on the evidence of Gomarus.

Dresdensis, see Læschnerianus.

Dublinensis<sup>71</sup>, see Montfortianus.

115. Eubeswaldianus, noted 100 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a copy of the Gospels, which formerly belonged to Baron Paul of Eubeswald, and was used by Wagenfeil: a reading has been taken from it John viii. 6.

116. Ebnerianus, noted 105 in the first part of Wettstein's



stein's N. T., is a very neat manuscript of the New Testament, excepting the book of Revelation, formerly in the possession of Hieronymus William Ebner of Eschenbach at Nuremberg, who intended to publish it, with the various readings of six other manuscripts, but did not execute his design. Schoenleben has described it in 1738, in his *Notitia codicis N. T. mscr. quem servat Hier. Guil. Ebner ab Eschenbach*. Wetstein, though he has admitted it into his catalogue, has made use of it only in the eighth chapter of St. John: in other respects it belongs properly, as well as several of the preceding, to the class of uncollated manuscripts. According to a subscription at the end of the epistle to the Hebrews, it was written in the year 1391.

117. Ephesus, noted 71 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the Gospels written in the year 1166, and formerly in possession of a bishop of Ephesus, whence it has taken its name. It is at present in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, to which it was presented by Trahern, together with the extracts which he had made from it. These were inserted by Mill, in his collection of readings.

118. Codex Ephremi, or Codex Regius 1905, noted in the Catalogue of MSS. <sup>172</sup> in the royal library in Paris IX, and in all the four parts of Wetstein's Greek Testament, by the letter C. Griesbach has very particularly described it in his *Symbolæ*, p. iii—liv. It is written on vellum, and is of very high antiquity. The first part of it contains several Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian, written over some more ancient writings, which had been erased, though the traces are still visible, and in most places legible. These more ancient writings were the whole Greek Bible. According to Wetstein, the New Testament has the following chasms: Matth. v, 15—vii, 5. xvii, 27—xviii, 28. xxii, 21—xxiii, 17. xxiv, 10—45. xxv, 30—xxvi, 22. xxvii, 11—46. xxviii, 15—Mark i, 17. vi, 32—viii, 15. xii, 30—xiii, 18. Luke ii, 6—42. iii, 21—iv, 25. vi, 4—36. vii, 17—viii, 28. xii, 4—xix, 42. xx, 28—xxi, 20. xxii, 20—  
xxiii,

xxiii, 25. xxiv, 7—45. John i, 42—iii, 32. v, 17—vi, 37. vii, 3—viii, 34. ix, 11—xi, 7. xi, 47—xiii, 8. xiv, 8—xvi, 21. xviii, 36—xx, 25. Acts iv, 3—v, 34. x, 43—xiii, 1. xvi, 36—xx, 10. xxi, 31—xxii, 20. xxiii, 18—xxiv, 14. xxvi, 20—xxvii, 16. xxviii, 5. to the end. James iv, 3. to the end. 1 Peter iv, 5. to the end. 1 John iv, 3. to the end. Rom. ii, 5—iii, 21. ix, 6—x, 14. xi, 31—xiii, 10. 1 Cor. vii, 18—ix, 6. xiii, 8—xv, 40. 2 Cor. x, 9—Gal. i, 20. Eph. i—ii, 18. iv, 17—Phil. i, 22. iii, 5. to the end. 1 Theff. ii, 9—Heb. ii, 4. vii, 26—ix, 15. x, 24—xi, 15. 1 Tim. i—iii, 9. v, 20. to the end. Revel. iii, 20—v, 14. vii, 14—ix, 16. xvi, 14—xviii, 2. xix, 10. to the end. Beside these chasins, it is in many places illegible, and Griesbach therefore very properly observes, that we ought not immediately to conclude, that it coincides with the common reading, where Wettstein has not quoted it among the various readings. We may presume that those manuscripts are very ancient, in which an old text has been erased to make room for a new, and Wettstein contends that this was written before the year 542, though his arguments are not wholly decisive. Its readings, like those of all other very ancient manuscripts, are in favour of the Latin, but no proof can be given that this has been corrupted from the Latin version. *Εναρος* for *εις καὶ εἰς*, Mark xiv. 19. has more the appearance of a scholion, for scholia are discoverable even in the most ancient manuscripts<sup>173</sup>. It has been altered by a critical corrector, who, according to Griesbach, must have lived many years after the time in which the manuscript was written, and has probably erased many of the ancient readings.

Küster was the first who procured extracts from it, and he inserted them in his edition of Mill's Greek Testament. Wettstein has repeatedly collated it with very great accuracy, and the numerous readings, which he has quoted from it, greatly enhance the value of his edition. He says himself, that he was unable to read many faded passages, and that on a new examination, by the

help of good eyes, fresh discoveries might be made; but Griesbach, p. vi, vii, of his *Symbolæ*, has given the highest commendation, not only of Wettstein's fidelity and accuracy, but likewise of his clear-sightedness. The state in which Dr. Lef's found this manuscript in 1775, it being at that time still less legible than it seems to have been in the time of Wettstein, is described in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. IX. p. 142—144. and the accounts given by Woide and Griesbach, both of whom differ from Lef's, relative to what is legible, or rather illegible, 1 Tim. iii, 16. may be seen in the same work, Vol. VII. p. 138—141. and Vol. X. p. 36—57<sup>174</sup>. It is to be sincerely lamented that the manuscript is so faded, but its loss would be in some measure supplied, if we were certain that some other manuscript now extant were a copy of it. It is the wish of Griesbach, that so much of it as is still legible might be printed letter for letter<sup>175</sup>.

*Codex Jacobi Fabri Daventriensis*, see Wolfianus.

Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, in his commentary on St. Paul's epistles, published at Paris in 1512, has sometimes appealed to certain Greek manuscripts, which Wettstein, in the second part of his N. T. has noted by the figure 13.

119. *Fæschii* 1, noted 92 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 49, takes its name from the proprietor, Andrew Fæsch, Secretary in Basel. It contains the Gospel of St. Mark, with explanatory notes on the catholic epistles, and has been collated by Wettstein.

120. *Fæschii* 2, noted 94 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains several commentaries on the Gospels of St. Mark, and St. Luke; Wettstein used it in his edition of the Greek Testament.

121. *Florentinus*, noted 107 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, and was written in the fourteenth century. It belongs properly to the class of uncollated manuscripts; but I am obliged to mention it here, because Wettstein has admitted it into his catalogue, on account of two readings, which he quotes in

the first part, and from which he appeals to Joh. Lami de eruditione apostolorum, Florentiæ 1738, p. 218.

122. Florentinum lectionarium, containing lessons from the Gospels and Acts, noted Lect. 4 in the third part of Wettstein's N. T., has never been collated, but only examined for the reading 1 John v. 7<sup>176</sup>.

123. Thomæ Gale, noted 66 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and was collated by Mill.

124. Gehlianus, noted 89 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1106. Gehle, who died a few years ago, master of the grammar-school at Stade, received it when tutor in the Hanstein family, as a present from one Parasceuas, an itinerant Greek, whom he calls in the preface, not by his real name, but by the name which Parasceuas had assumed in several pamphlets relative to the Wolfian disputes, Damianus Sinopeus, as being a native of Sinope in Asia Minor. The readings of this manuscript were published by Gehle in 1729, in a small pamphlet of three sheets, with the following title: *Augustini Gabrielis Gehlii codex evangeliorum MS. in lucem prolatus*, from which Bengel took his extracts, omitting only what appeared to be unimportant; and Wettstein borrowed from Bengel<sup>177</sup>. It was purchased of the heirs of the proprietor in 1773, for the University library at Göttingen, and may therefore be properly termed *Goettingensis* 1. but I have retained the name under which it is generally known.

125. Genevensis 1, noted 35 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 29, is a very neatly written manuscript of the Acts and Epistles. Its readings were inserted in Mill's collection. Wettstein relates that he saw it in the years 1714 and 1716, but he has not mentioned where, nor whether he has collated it.

126. Genevensis 2, noted 75 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from Constantinople, of which Wettstein says that he saw it in 1714<sup>178</sup>.

127. Genovesensis, or Codex bibliothecæ S. Genevesæ Parisiis, a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1284, collated by Griesbach, and described in his *Symbolæ*, p. ccxxiii. He has marked it Codex 121.

128. Guelpherbytanus A, contains fragments of the four Gospels, written on vellum, which were erased in the eighth or ninth century, in order to write several works of Isidorus Hispalensis. Knittel, who refers this manuscript to the sixth century, has at the end of his *Ulphilæ versio Gothica nonnullorum capitum epistolæ ad Romanos*, &c. published in 1763, printed these fragments, given a critical description of them; and added extracts of their various readings; but as they have been hitherto inserted in no critical edition of the Greek Testament<sup>179</sup>, they may be written as marginal notes in Wetstein. They amount to 203, (including those which are manifest *errata*) among which Knittel reckons 53 peculiar to this manuscript, though some of these again are *errata*, and 3 which are found only in ancient versions. One of the most remarkable is *ου μακραν*, Luke xv. 20. but even this appears to me to be erroneous.

129. Guelpherbytanus B, a manuscript containing fragments of St. Luke and St. John, likewise published, and described by Knittel in the above-mentioned work, and referred by him to the sixth century<sup>180</sup>: this manuscript had likewise been erased, in order to make room for the works of Isidorus Hispalensis. Knittel has extracted from it 117 readings, 25 of which it alone contains, and it has 3 in common with ancient versions, but many of them are without doubt orthographical errors. The most remarkable in my opinion is *τινες Σαδδουκαιων*, Luke xx. 39. for it entirely alters the sense, and represents some of the Sadducees as convinced by Christ of the Resurrection of the Dead. But the omission of *οταν ελθης*, Luke xxiii. 42. which is peculiar to this manuscript, has the appearance of a correction, made to avoid a difficulty in the construction.

Nothing can equal the diligence which the learned editor has bestowed on these two manuscripts, and the  
remarks,

remarks which he has made are well worthy of our attention. But if all fragments and manuscripts were treated in the same copious manner, our critical libraries would be swelled to an enormous size.

130. Guelpherbytanus C, contains the Acts, and the Epistles with marginal readings, and the Revelation of St. John. It has been collated and described by Knittel, who is of opinion that it is more modern than the tenth, but more ancient than the fourteenth century, and written by one Georgius, a monk.

The first part, which contains the Acts and the Epistles, is described by Knittel<sup>181</sup>, in his *New Criticisms* on 1 John v. 7. published at Brunswick 1785, p. 111—126. and very complete extracts of its readings are given p. 180—330. The latter part, which contains the Revelation, is described in his *Materials for Criticism* on the Revelation of St. John<sup>182</sup>, published in 1773, and I have likewise given some account of it in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VIII. p. 155—161. In the book of Revelation, it has those readings which are harsh and unclassical, a circumstance in favour of this manuscript, readings which Wettstein generally preferred, though he had never seen the MS. The Complutum edition<sup>183</sup> very frequently agrees with it, and it has a new and very remarkable reading, Rev. ix. 14, 15. which I have mentioned in the *Orient. Bibl.*<sup>184</sup>, and which I should prefer, if it were ratified by the authority of another impartial evidence<sup>185</sup>.

131. Guelpherbytanus D, a manuscript of the first epistle of St. John. Under the Greek text is written, 1. The translation of Castalio. 2. The Latin translation of the Syriac text. 3. The Vulgate. 4. The translations of Erasmus, Vatablus, and Beza. It was written in the seventeenth century, and is described in Knittel's *New Criticisms* on 1 John v. 7. p. 116—131. because it has that text. This is such modern evidence, that in my opinion it is entitled neither to a collation, nor a description, but 1 John v. 7. is with many so favourite a passage, that no trouble bestowed on it is thought too great.

132. Guelpherbytanus E, a manuscript of the eleventh century, containing the four Gospels. Heusinger has given a literary description of it, in a small work, entitled, *De quatuor evangeliorum codice Græco quem antiqua manu in membrana scriptum Guelpherbytana bibliotheca servat*; but Knittel has critically described it in his *New Criticisms*, p. 363—398. and has added a reimpression of Heusinger's pamphlet: he has likewise given complete extracts from it, and intends to print the manuscript itself, as it has many remarkable and peculiar readings. See the *New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. N° 32. p. 140—143*<sup>186</sup>.

Goettingensis 1, see Gehlianus.

133. Goettingensis 2, formerly Missyanus AA, or Missyanus 1635, is a *Lectioarium* of the Acts and the Epistles, which once belonged to Cesar de Missy, but was purchased after his death by the celebrated navigator Forster, and presented to the University library in Göttingen. In the eleventh volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* I have described it, and produced several of its readings. The late de Missy left a very complete, and almost superfluous collection of its readings; his papers during some time were in my possession, but I know not where they are at present. Matthäi has given extracts from it, immediately after the epistles to the Thessalonians, and a fac-simile of its characters, N° 5. of the copper-plates annexed to the book of Revelation.

134. Gonvilli et Caii, noted 59 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the Gospels, belonging to Caius College in Cambridge, extracts from which were first printed in the *London Polyglot*. These were inserted in Mill's edition<sup>187</sup>: whether Wetstein collated it I am unable to determine, for he says only that he saw it in 1716.

135. Henrici Gooze, noted in Mill Go, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Codex 62, is a manuscript of the four Gospels, formerly in the possession of Henry Gooze of Cambridge: its readings were first printed in the *London Polyglot*, and thence transferred to the editions of Mill and Wetstein. Where it is at present preserved

served is not known, but Wetstein supposes it to be the same with Usserii primus<sup>188</sup>.

136. Grævii, noted 80 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the eleventh century, formerly in the possession of the famous Grævius, and afterwards the property of John van der Hagen. Wetstein says, that Bynæus collated this manuscript in 1691, and though he has no where related that he procured these extracts, yet we must at least suppose so, since he has quoted his Codex 80 on various occasions.

137. Gravii, noted 93 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, which Vossius has quoted in the genealogy of Christ, Luke iii. It would not be entitled to a place in this catalogue, had not Wetstein introduced it, and supposed it to be the same with Usserii primus<sup>189</sup>.

138. Havniensis 1, noted 57 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., was formerly celebrated in the dispute relative to 1 John v. 7. and is quoted by Bengel, in favour of the omission of that verse. Since that time, it has been described by Professor Hensler, in his *Notitia codicum N. T. Græcorum qui Havaniæ in bibliotheca regia adservantur*, who has given complete extracts from the Acts, and the Epistles. It was written in the year 1278, and contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, in the following order, the Acts, epistles of St. Paul, the catholic epistles, and last of all the Gospels, in which arrangement it agrees with the Codex Reuchlinianus, described N° 38, and the Laudanus 2. It is remarkable for its coincidence with the Complutum edition, even in readings that are ratified by no other genuine manuscript. I have given a further account of it in the *Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 2—6*<sup>190</sup>.

139. Havniensis 2, a manuscript of the Gospels, which very frequently harmonizes with the Leicestrensis.

140. Havniensis 3, a *Lectio-narium*, containing lessons from the Gospels and Epistles. These two last manuscripts are described in Hensler's *Notitia codicum Havniensium*,



Havniensium, and examples given of their readings, which the author intends to publish: otherwise they would not be entitled to a place in this catalogue.

141. Hal. in Griesbach Codex 61<sup>191</sup>, a manuscript of which we have at present no knowledge, but Mill has written several extracts from it, in the margin of his own copy of his Greek Testament<sup>192</sup>, which is still preserved in the Bodleian library. Several of them have been printed by Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. 243—304. The MS. must have contained all the epistles<sup>193</sup>.

142—146. The five following Codices Harleiani, from which Griesbach, in his Greek Testament, has given various readings, and also in his *Symbolæ*, under the title *Spicilegium lectionum variantium*, are described in the first volume of the latter, p. clxxxii. and following pages<sup>194</sup>.

142. Harleianus 1810, preserved in the British Museum, in Griesbach Codex 113, a manuscript written in the tenth or eleventh century. He has accurately collated the following parts, Mark xvi. Luke iii, 16—38. viii, 15—39. xi, 1—24. John v, 1—vi, 46. vii, 53—viii, 12. the remainder he has either not examined, or only cursorily.

143. Harleianus 5540, Griesbach's Codex 114, written in the thirteenth century. He has accurately collated Matth. viii, ix, x; xi. less accurately the remaining chapters of that Gospel, with the Gospel of St. Mark and St. Luke i—xix. John i—iv. the rest he has not collated. Griesbach highly esteems this manuscript, and refers it to the Western edition.

144. Harleianus 5559, in Griesbach 115, a manuscript of the twelfth century. He has carefully collated Matth. viii—xviii. the remainder he has only cursorily inspected. It has a striking affinity with Wettstein's C. D. L. 1, 33. which are valuable manuscripts, but at the same time it has many peculiar readings, which appeared to Griesbach nothing more than bold conjectures.

145. Harleianus 5567, Griesbach's Codex 116, written with accuracy, that is, with few orthographical errors, by the Emperor Theodosius the Great, according

to the subscription, which no one however will implicitly believe. Griesbach sets no great value on this manuscript, and of the readings, which are peculiar to it, he says, '*luxurians ingenium librarii prodere videntur.*' With respect to his examination of it, he adds, '*totum perlustravi, exceptis ultimis capitibus Joannis.*'

146. Harleianus 5731, Griesbach's Codex 117, contains the four Gospels, with a fragment of a *Lectionarium* of the epistles, belonged formerly to Bentley, and was copied in the fourteenth century by a transcriber wholly ignorant of Greek, though, according to Griesbach's opinion, from a more ancient manuscript of value. It has great similarity to the *Cantabrigiensis*, Regius 2244, and Colbertinus 2844, but has likewise several readings that are wholly peculiar to itself. Griesbach collated Matth. i—xiii. Luke iii—vii. John i—iv. and viii.; he adds, that the whole deserves to be collated.

In the same library are preserved six manuscripts of the epistles, noted 5552, 5588, 5613, 5620, 5778, 5796. One of them, 5778, or Covel. 5, has been collated, and is described N<sup>o</sup> 112; the rest belong not to this catalogue, as they have been never used.

147. *Hirsaugiensis*<sup>95</sup>, noted 97 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of St. John's Gospel, written by one Nicolaus a monk, in the year 1500\*. Bengel has collated it, and found its readings very similar to those of the Codex Trithemii.

148. *Huntingtonianus* 1, noted 36 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 30, in the fourth 9, a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, brought from the East by Robert Huntington<sup>96</sup>. The beginning is defective as far as Acts xv. 19. The Acts of the Apostles, with the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, and the two first of St. John, are said to have been written by a somewhat later hand; but the remaining books, namely, the third epistle of St. John, the

\* The date is not in Bengel, but in Wettstein, who has quoted it as if taken from Bengel.

the epistle of St. Jude, the Revelation, and the epistles of St. Paul, which have the last place, were estimated by Mill, who made extracts from this manuscript, at the age of 700 years, on account of the ancient hand, and the characters.

149. Huntingtonianus 2, noted 67 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, which ends with John vi. 24. Mill, who collated it, ascribes to it an antiquity of 700 years, but it is at present in a very bad state of preservation.

150. Johnsonianus, noted 72 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a copy of the four Gospels, and said to have belonged to the monastery of Simeon Stilites. It discovers its country by the Egyptian names of the months, which the transcriber has written in the margin, to note the time, in which he supposed that this or that event had happened. Griesbach has likewise discovered several Arabic notes, and several various readings, in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, from the transcriber's own hand. He describes it in the first volume of his *Symbolæ*, p. clxxxi. and places it in the eleventh century. It is at present in the British Museum, and is there noted Harleianus 5647. Its most remarkable reading is *τρίτη* for *εκτη*, John xix. 14. which excites no favourable opinion of its readings, as this is manifestly a correction of the text, made in order to avoid a difficulty attending the explanation of the common text.

Wettstein collated this manuscript in July 1731. He writes, *Antequam in Angliam mitteretur anno 1731 mense Julio a T. Johnson bibliopola mecum communicatum contuli*. Griesbach, who commends the accuracy of Wettstein's collation, has himself made some additions.

151. Laudanus 1<sup>b</sup>, noted 50 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and was estimated

<sup>b</sup> The following codices Laudani take their name from Archbishop Laud, who presented them to the University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor.

mated by Mill, who collated it, at the age of 700 years. Griesbach has collated it still more accurately, Mark—iv—vii. Luke viii, and ix. It is defective from the beginning as far as Matth. ix. 36. also xii, 3—24. xxv, 20—32. Mark xiv, 40. to the end of the Gospel, and from John v, 8. to the end.

152. Laudanus 2, noted 51 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 38, in the third 32, contains the whole New Testament, except the book of Revelation. Mill, who collated it, judged it to be 400 years old: he found a great harmony between it and the Complutensian Polyglot, or, as he expresses himself, in conformity with his hypothesis, the Codex Vaticanus, which he says was faithfully copied in that edition of the Bible. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ*, p. clxxii. Semler supposes that the Complutum edition was printed from the Laudanus 2, the leaves of which were afterwards bound false, whence arose the present extraordinary arrangement of the parts of this manuscript, namely, the Acts, the Epistles of St: Paul, the catholic epistles, and last of all the Gospels. But Griesbach, who has very accurately examined this point, relates that the arrangement must have proceeded from the transcriber himself. The same order is likewise observed in two other manuscripts, the Reuchlinianus, and Havniensis 1. See N° 138.

153. Laudanus 3, noted in Fell's edition, printed in the Sheldon Theatre in 1675, Bodleianus 1, in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., Codex E, is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, in which the Latin text is one of those versions that differ from Jerom's<sup>c</sup> edition. It is defective from chap. xxvi. 29. to xxviii. 26.

Mill and Wetstein contend, that the Greek text of this manuscript has been altered from the Latin, and in the former editions of this Introduction I acceded to this opinion,

<sup>c</sup> In the former edition I had said, that the Latin version was one of those which were in use before the time of Jerom. This I have altered in the present edition, because the Latin appears to have been altered from the particular Greek text of this manuscript.

opinion, to which I was induced by the very extraordinary circumstance, than an interpolation in the Latin, is in two different manuscripts differently given in Greek, which therefore appears to be not original, but a translation: namely, after *μα*, Acts iv. 32. in the Laudanus 3, *και εκ ην χωρισμος εν αυτοις τις*, and in the Cantabrigiensis *και εκ ην διακρισις εν αυτοις εδεμια*. But Woide has so ably defended this passage, in his preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, § 77—80, that we must conclude the charge is ungrounded. For in the very quoted passage, the Latin text of the two manuscripts is as different as the Greek, the Laudanus having ‘et non erat separatio in eis ulla,’ the Cantabrigiensis ‘et non erat accusatio in eis ulla,’ where there is a manifest error in the translation of *διακρισις*, and it appears from Cyprian’s quotation, that even so early as that age, there was a third, and still better translation of this passage, *nec fuit inter illos discrimen ullum*, as may be seen in Sabatier<sup>197</sup>. Though we admit therefore that the passage is spurious, and an interpolation in the manuscripts of the Western edition, arising perhaps originally from a scholion, or marginal note, yet we must not infer that the Greek was taken from the Latin, but, on the contrary, that the Latin was taken from the Greek. Woide has likewise observed other passages, to which the same remark is applicable, for instance, Acts xvii. 16. *κατειδωλον εσαν την πολιν*, circa simulachrum esse civitatem<sup>198</sup>.

This induced me to make an accurate examination of the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and Latin, which Hearne printed from this manuscript, and the result was a perfect conviction, that the Greek had not been altered from the Latin, but the Latin from the Greek. Ch. xv. 18. the Greek text of this manuscript is *γνωσα απ’ αιωνος εστι*, the Latin *nota a sæculō EST Deo omnia opera ejus*, which is a notorious false concord: other Latin versions have *notum* and *opus* in the singular, which were here corrected to *nota* and *opera*, but left permitted to remain, because *εστι* is in the Greek. Ch. ix. 6, the Laud. 3, in conjunction with the other manuscripts,

scripts, omits the following passage of our common printed text, which Erasmus had interpolated from the Latin, σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν. Τρεμων δε και θαμβων ειπε, Κυριε τι με θελεις ποιησαι; και ο Κυριος προς αυτον. But, ver. 4. immediately after διωκεις, this manuscript alone, in imitation of the Syriac version, has σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν, and its Latin text has been altered accordingly to Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? durum tibi est contra stimulum calcitrare. It is found in this manner in no other Latin manuscript, a circumstance which shews that the Greek was not altered from the Latin, and if we suspect any version, we must suspect the Syriac, which alone has this reading. Ch. x. 1. it omits, together with many other, not latinizing only, but even Moscow manuscripts, the fourth word ην, which renders more easy the connection with ver. 3. ανηρ δε τις εν Καισαρεια ονοματι Κορνηλιος . . . ειδεν εν οραματι. The Latin text of this manuscript has been altered agreeably to this reading, vir autem quidam in Cæsarea nomine Cornelius . . . vidit visum, whereas all other Latin versions have, vir autem quidam ERAT in Cæsarea . . . IS vidit in visu. Whoever would examine a very remarkable contrast between our common printed text, which has really been corrupted from the Latin, and the falsely-accused Codices Græco-Latini, may refer to Acts x. 6. where ουτος λαλησει σοι, τι σε δει ποιειν is nothing more than a Greek translation, which Erasmus himself made from the Latin, and this interpolation, though found in not a single Greek manuscript, has been transferred to our modern editions. But the Codex Laud. 3, and Cantabrigienfis, in conformity to their Greek text, have omitted the Latin reading, hic dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere. The following is an example of a different kind, the Greek text differing from the Latin, with which it is accompanied, and therefore not corrected from it. Ch. iii. 19. its Latin text, in conjunction with the Vulgate, is 'ut cum venerint tempora,' which would be expressed in Greek οπως εαν ελθωσι καιροι, whereas the text of the Cod.



Preface to the Codex Alexandrinus; and the learned editor observes, that the letters in this edict are different from the manuscript itself, which appears also from comparing the specimen in the above-mentioned copper plate, with that which represents the characters of the manuscript prefixed to Hearne's edition<sup>101</sup>. The edict is written in a more current hand, and the manuscript is therefore more ancient than this dux Sardiniae. It was afterwards brought to England, where it still remains. Mill has observed, that it resembles the manuscript, from which Bede borrowed the readings, which he quotes in his *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum retractata*; but Wetstein goes a step further, and contends that it is the very same which Bede used, and of which he writes as follows: *quædam, quæ in Græco, sive aliter, sive plus, aut minus posita vidimus, breviter commemorare curavimus. Quæ utrum negligentia interpretis omissa, vel aliter dicta, an incuria librariorum sint depravata, sive relicta, nondum scire potuimus. Namque Græcum exemplar fuisse falsatum suspicari non audeo: unde lectorem admoneo, ut hæc, ubicumque fecerimus, gratia eruditionis legat, non in suo tamen volumine quasi emendator inserat, nisi forte ea in latino codice suæ editionis sic antiquitus interpretata reperit.* Now this passage appears unfavourable to Wetstein's conjecture; for if Bede had been in possession of this Greek-Latin manuscript, it is improbable that he would have represented the Greek readings as being in opposition to the Latin, or have expressed an uncertain conjecture, that similar translations might hereafter be found in the Latin. But on the other hand, Wetstein found in this manuscript all the seventy-four readings quoted by Bede, of which Acts viii. 7. is particularly to be remarked, as being a strong confirmation of Wetstein's hypothesis, though he himself has not particularly noted it. The Laud. 3, is one of the very few Greek manuscripts which have this verse, and Bede found it in the Greek text of his manuscript; '*hic alia translatio juxta Græcum exemplar aliquot versus plus habet, ubi scriptum est,*' &c. His manuscript



therefore, if not the same with the Laud. 3, must have been copied from the Greek text of that manuscript. I wish that this question had been examined by Woide, who, in the 38<sup>th</sup> section of his Preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, accedes to the opinion of Wetstein, having never seen the third edition of this Introduction, in which these doubts were first proposed<sup>202</sup>.

This manuscript was first used in the Oxford edition of 1675, and quoted, as Wetstein observes, under the name of Bodleianus 1. It was collated more accurately by Mill, and in the year 1715 was printed by Hearne. The Latin version is in Sabatier's Bible, and also in Professor Hwiid's *Libellus Criticus*<sup>203</sup>. It were to be wished that the last mentioned critic had likewise printed the Greek text, since the Latin version alone is insufficient, and Hearne's edition is uncommonly scarce, as only one hundred and twenty impressions were taken off. It is a manuscript which is indispensable to every man, who would examine the important question, whether the Codices Græco-Latini have been corrupted from the Latin, and it is this manuscript which has convinced me that the charge is without foundation.

154. Laudanus 4, noted in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Evangelistarium 20, was written in the year 1047, and has been collated by Mill.

155. Laudanus 5, noted 52 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1286. It has been collated by Mill, and in the following parts still more accurately by Griesbach, namely, Mark iii. Luke iv, v, vi. John v. 1—6. vii. 53—viii. 19.

156. Leicestrensis, noted in Mill by the letter L, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Codex 69, in the second 37, in the third 31, in the fourth 14, is a manuscript of the whole New Testament, written by a modern hand, partly on paper, and partly on vellum, and referred by Wetstein to the fourteenth century. It is defective from the beginning, as far as Matth. xviii. 5. and has also the following chasms, Acts x. 45—xiv. 17. Jude 7.  
to

to the end, Rev. xxi. 1. to the end. Mill has observed that it has many peculiar readings, and that in those which are not confined to this manuscript, it chiefly agrees with the Cantabrigiensis. It harmonizes also in a very eminent manner with the Syriac version, not only in the latinizing readings, but in such as are found neither in the Vulgate nor the old Italic, of which I have given examples from the Gospel of St. Mark, in the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 182, 183. Another example is *εἰκοσι τέσσαρες*, 1 Cor. x. 8. a reading found only in this manuscript, and in the Syriac<sup>204</sup>. In a note, Ch. iv. sect. 12. of this Introduction, I have given likewise a remarkable reading from this manuscript, which evidently betrays a critical conjecture. It is an extraordinary circumstance, and at the same time a proof of the value of this manuscript, that several readings, which Mill found in it alone, have been confirmed by other manuscripts, which belong to totally different countries: for instance Rom. viii. 19. *ἡ ἀποκατάστασις τῆς τῆς* for *κτίσεως*, which gives a very different sense, is found in the Moscow manuscript, noted M, though I acknowledge that this reading in particular has the appearance of a mere correction. According to Hensler, the Codex Havniensis 3, has likewise a great similarity to the manuscript in question. Mill has collated it, but Wettstein says that his extracts are defective, and sometimes erroneous. The extracts which Wettstein inserted in his edition, were made by Jackson and Tiffin.

What I have here related of this manuscript, I have partly borrowed from Wettstein, and partly deduced from an examination of the readings, which he has quoted. But the description appears to me to be in some respects erroneous, though I am unable to specify in what the error consists.

In the catalogue of the library of Cesar de Missy\*, which was sold in 1776, was the following article, N° 1617, *Collatio codicis Leicestrensis per Rev. Joh. Jackson adscripta margini N. T. Græce impressi Oxonii 1675.*

\* See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. X. N° 161 and 169<sup>105</sup>.

Hoc est originale, e quo variantes lectiones suo N. T. inferuit Wettstenius. Vide ejus profationem, p. 53. n. 69. I know not whether this collation was purchased by Dr. Hunter, or the trustees of the British Museum<sup>206</sup>, who seem to have divided the Greek manuscripts of Cesar de Missy; but I can communicate a more accurate description of it, which I had from de Missy himself. There was likewise in this catalogue, N° 1618, an article entitled, *Remarques sur le MS de Leicester par M. de Missy*, which I had some time in my possession; they were sent to me by his widow, in consequence of a wish that I had expressed in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. I. p. 99, that these remarks might be published, with permission to print them with the other works of this learned and sagacious critic. But as I have returned them to the proprietor, I will select only so much as is necessary to be known, that I may not defeat the publication of the remarks themselves.

The Codex Leicestrensis is in the Town-Library at Leicester, and is written partly on vellum, and partly on very thick paper. The collation which Wettstein procured, was taken from the margin of a copy of the Oxford edition, printed in 1675, in which however not all the readings were noted, but those only which had been omitted, or falsely quoted by Mill. The collation was made by Jackson, the editor of Novatianus; and Lee, a clergyman in Leicester. Joseph Wasse, who afterwards had it in his possession, added new remarks, which consisted partly in comparisons with the Coptic version, and partly in doubts and conjectures. From his hands it came into those of William Tiffin, who revised the notes of his predecessors, and made several alterations. In this state it was purchased by Cesar de Missy, and this collation was used by Wettstein, though he has not accurately described it<sup>207</sup>.

De Missy's treatise unfortunately breaks off in the middle of the sixth paragraph, it is therefore difficult to determine what were his real sentiments with regard to the value of this manuscript; but they must have been unfavourable

favourable either to the manuscript itself, or to the extracts that had been made from it, for the title page which he has prefixed, and on which he wrote with his own hand *Remarques sur les MS de Leicester*, has a figure representing a quack doctor, *avec privilege du Roi*; but of Wetstein he speaks with the most profound respect. He appears also to have suspected, if we may judge from the first few paragraphs, that Mill had his doubts with regard to this manuscript. Our knowledge therefore of the *Codex Leicestrensis* is hitherto attended with a mystery<sup>208</sup>, of which we have the more reason to wish for an explanation, as its readings so frequently coincide with those of the Syriac versions.

157. *Lincolniensis* 1, noted 56 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. belongs to Lincoln College in Oxford, and is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1502.

158. *Lincolniensis* 2, noted 39 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. in the third 33, belongs to the same College, and is an ancient manuscript of the Acts and Epistles written on vellum. The readings of both these Lincoln manuscripts are annexed to the London Polyglot, whence they were taken by Mill and Wetstein. But in the Polyglot no distinction is made between them, both being noted Lin.

Lu. a manuscript quoted, but not described by Mill, and which is supposed to be the same with the *Cantabrigiensis* 495. See above N° 62,

159. *Loescherianus*, a manuscript of the Revelation, referred by Matthäi to the fifteenth century, though others suppose it to be five hundred years old, belonged formerly to Loescher, from whose library it came into that of Count Brühl, and lastly into the Electoral library in Dresden, whence it has also the title of *Dresdensis*, Stemler, who observed its frequent coincidence with the *Wolfenbüttel* manuscript, described above N° 130, collated the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> chapters, and I have inserted his extracts in the *Orient. Bib. Vol. XVII. N° 268*. Matthäi procured extracts from Daisdorf, and afterwards collated the whole of it himself, as appears from his

Apocalypsis Græce et Latine, p. 213, 214. and annexed both the extracts from this and other manuscripts to his edition of the Revelation, p. 239—309.

160. Magdalenensis 1, generally written Magd. 1, noted 57 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. in the second 41. in the third 35, is a copy of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, belonging to Magdalen College in Oxford, and in the time of Mill was supposed to be seven hundred years old.

The Gospel of St. Mark is defective as far as ch. i. 11. Hammond, who relates that he had twice collated it, has sometimes quoted its readings in his Commentary on the New Testament. A more complete collection may be seen in the London Polyglot. It is one of the few manuscripts which omit, Luke xi. 2—4. the interpolation from St. Matthew, a circumstance which redounds to its honour; and it is the only one which, in conjunction with the Vulgate, omits *μᾶλλον*, 1 Cor. xiv. 18. an omission which entirely alters the sense.

161. Magdalenensis 2, or Magd. 2, noted 42 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T. belongs to the same College, and contains the epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Extracts from it were first printed in the London Polyglot, whence they were taken by Mill and Wettstein.

162. San-Maglorianus, noted 43 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. in the second not quoted, in the third 54, contains the Gospels, Epistles, and Acts. Amelotte and Simon have used this manuscript, the former of whom refers it to the ninth century; but the latter, who was undoubtedly a much better judge, places it in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Wettstein has admitted it into his catalogue, because he has sometimes quoted it from the accounts given by the above-mentioned critics; but it has never been properly collated<sup>209</sup>.

163. Marshi, preserved in the Bodleian Library, and noted Bodleianus 24<sup>210</sup>, is a manuscript of the four Gospels, beginning with Matth. vi. 1. and ending with John xvi. 25. and not free from other chasms: it was written

in the thirteenth century. Griesbach, who describes it at length in his *Symbolæ*, p. ccii—ccxxiii. has collated accurately the following parts, Matth. viii—xiv. Mark i—iv. ix. x. xvi. Luke i—iv. 30. xi. xiii. 35—xiv. 20. xviii. 8—33. John i—iii. v. 1—15. viii. 1—26. and inserted the readings in his *Greek Testament*, and *Symbolæ*. It is a remarkable instance of an eclectic manuscript. It corresponds sometimes so exactly to the *Reuchlinianus*, as to coincide even in the errata, and must therefore have been copied either from the *Reuchlinianus*, or from a transcript of it; at other times it varies from it in single readings, and follows the common text; but even in these cases the relation is still discernible. There are again other places, where the transcriber seems to have been in doubt what reading he should prefer, and has left therefore a vacant space.

164. Mazarini, noted 103 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.* a manuscript 800 years old, brought from Constantinople, and formerly in the possession of Cardinal Mazarin: but I know not what books of the New Testament it contains. Curcellæus procured extracts from Emericus Bigot, which Wetstein has inserted also in his edition.

Mead. The three following manuscripts, which formerly belonged to the celebrated Dr. Mead, ought properly to be referred to the class of uncollated manuscripts; for Wetstein says of the first, '*quem mihi humanissime in bibliotheca sua ostendit Mead;*' of the second, '*quod vidi apud Mead,*' without making mention of a collation of them; and of the third, '*quem obiter inspexi.*' But as Wetstein has admitted them into his catalogue, on account of the few extracts which he has given, they cannot be excluded from the list. But I shall not number all three, because he has quoted more than one under different names, and I have already described them.

Mead 1, noted 109 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.* contains the four Gospels. It came afterwards into the library of Dr. Askew, and it has been described above, N<sup>o</sup> 3, under that title<sup>211</sup>.

165. Meadi 2, noted in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Evangelistarium 23.

Meadi 3, noted 22 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T. a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles. According to Velthusen, it is the same with that which Wetstein calls Codex Antonii Askew, and which I have described above, N° 3. Wetstein then has counted the same manuscript twice, a mistake which may be easily committed by a critic, who both collates himself, and uses the collations of others: I will quote one of its readings, as being remarkable; instead of the usual, but awkward reading, *ο γαρ θελων ζων αγαπην*, 1 Pet. iii. 10. this manuscript alone has much more properly *ο γαρ θελων ζων, και αγαπων ημερας ιδειν αγαθας*, in conformity to Psalm xxxiii. 13. This might be taken for a modern correction from the Septuagint, were it not found in the old Syriac, and in the Arabic, not only that published by Erpenius, which was made from the Syriac, but in that printed in the Polyglot, which was made from the Greek.

166—175. Medicæi. Under this title must not be expected the whole treasure of manuscripts of the N. T. in the Medicean library, but the few which Wetstein has noted, and which he has sometimes quoted among his various readings.

Medicæus Pithœi, noted 42 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a manuscript of the four Gospels; the readings were extracted by Petrus Pithœus, and written in the margin of Stephens's edition of 1550. Wetstein procured these extracts, and inserted them in his edition of the Greek Testament <sup>221</sup>.

Medicæi, noted 102 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the second 59, in the third 56, and in the fourth 23. A person, whose name is unknown, made extracts from a Medicean manuscript, which is likewise unknown, and wrote them in the margin of Plantin's edition of 1591. These, which extend only from Matth. xxiv. to Mark viii. 1. were inserted by Wetstein in his collection. This account is given by Wetstein in the first part, but in the  
second

second he adds, that this same anonymous critic, a Dutchman by birth, collected readings from two manuscripts for the epistles to the Ephesians and Philip-  
pians, from one manuscript for the Acts of the Apostles, and from four Medicean manuscripts for the catholic epistles : he collected likewise readings for the three first chapters of the Revelation, but probably only from one manuscript. These together make nine manuscripts<sup>13</sup>.

176. Missyanus, noted 44 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. Cæsar de Missy procured this manuscript of the four Gospels from mount Athos, and collated it with Mill's edition, for the use of Wettstein<sup>14</sup>.

Missyanus AA, or 1635, has been described above, N° 133. under the title Goettingensis 2.

177. Missyanus BB, noted in the catalogue of his sale N° 1333, and there entitled *Lecttionarium ex Actis Apostolorum et Epistolis, Codex MS. membranaceus BB. Contulit hunc codicem Rev. Cæsar de Missy, sed collatio typis nondum est vulgata.* The manuscript itself was purchased by Dr. Hunter<sup>d</sup>, and will be called, perhaps, in future, Hunterianus. Missy's very accurate collation I had some time in my possession : it was my intention to have printed it, but I could find no bookseller who was willing to undertake the publication, and it was too voluminous for the Orientalische Bibliothek. I returned it therefore to Missy's heirs, and am ignorant where it is preserved at present ; but sacred criticism has suffered no great loss through the neglect of publication ; as we have more reason to complain of superfluity, than of scarcity, of extracts from manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

178. Missyanus CC, in the catalogue of his sale marked N° 1634, and there described, *Lecttionarium ex Evangelistis et Epistolis Apostolorum, MS. membranaceus CC, scriptus 1199. Contulit hunc codicem Cæsar de Missy, sed collatio nondum est typis vulgata.* This was likewise purchased by Dr. Hunter ; but where the collation itself is, I know not.

Even if these three Lecttionaria had not been collated,  
which

<sup>d</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. X. p. 194.



which they really have been, it would have been necessary to introduce and number them in this catalogue, because a dispute has arisen whether one of them had not the famous passage, 1 John v. 7. The occasion of this dispute was the following: Wettstein, p. 721 of the second volume, quotes *Lecttionaria tria Missyana*, which omit 1 John v. 7. but in the errata it is corrected to *Lecttionaria duo*: hence it has been concluded that the third must contain the passage. This conclusion is false, for it cannot be said that the manuscript either has it, or omits it. This will best appear from the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, T. XI. Mois de Mai et de Juin 1753, p. 73.

As I have frequent occasion to mention Cesar de Missy, not only on account of his manuscripts, but likewise on account of the controversy relative to the *Codex Ravianus*, it may not be improper to give a short account of him, as his life has never been described in any biographical dictionary<sup>25</sup>. He was born at Berlin, June 2, 1703, of parents who were French refugees; studied at Francfort on the Oder, and was examined for orders at Berlin in 1725; but having some scruples relative to the subscription to a book of articles, probably the *Confessio Sigismundi*, the subscription to which was at that time absolute, though at present modified by a quatenus, he left his birth-place, and settled in the Netherlands. He went afterwards to London, where, in 1731, he became French preacher in the Savoy, in 1767 French chaplain at St. James's, and died August 10, 1775. He was a profoundly learned and sagacious critic, but too violent and satirical in controversy, a quality which sometimes carried him beyond the bounds which his ardent love of truth would have otherwise prescribed to him; and even a love for truth, if it be carried so far as to treat with injustice what is deemed to be error, defeats its own end, and assumes the appearance of that which it attempts to expose. I once designed to publish his life, and a critical catalogue of his writings, which I had some time in my possession; but I returned them to the proprietor, as no bookseller would undertake the publication.

179. *Molsheimensis*. The readings of this manuscript must not be sought in the large collections that have hither been made, because it was not known till after Wetstein's publication. It contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and belonged formerly to the college of Jesuits at Molsheim, in Alsace. Oberlin supposes that it was brought thither, with many other books, from the ancient Carmelite monastery in Strasburg. In the year 1764, the Jesuits being obliged to abandon their college, brought it to the abbey of Mursmünster, where it remained during some years; but the suffragan bishop of Strasburg ordered the books and manuscripts to be returned to the seminary in Molsheim, where this manuscript is preserved at present.

The Jesuit Adam Contzen has used it in his commentary on the four Gospels; but as the collectors of various readings expected not to find critical researches in this work, they have left his extracts wholly unnoticed. Father Goldhagen has taken from it fifty-two readings, which he printed in his *Greek Testament*, published at Mayence in 1753. But from these we can form no judgement of the manuscript itself, as the editor has deprived his evidence of all authority, by a too strenuous support of the Vulgate. For he never quotes the *Codex Molsheimensis*, but where its readings coincide with the Latin version: if therefore we abide by his extracts alone, we must of course suspect that this manuscript has been corrupted from the Vulgate, because we see no example of a deviation from it. But we may conclude, from Goldhagen's silence on many passages, that it actually does deviate from the Vulgate; and there can be no doubt that 1 John v. 7. is not contained in it, because the editor has not quoted it for that passage, though  
he

\* Η *novum testamentum*, sive *Novum D. N. I. C. testamentum græcum cum variantibus lectionibus*, quæ demonstrant *Vulgatam Latinam* ipsis e *Græcis N. T. codicibus hodiernum extantibus authenticam*. Accedit *index epistolarum et evangeliorum, spicilegium apologeticum, et lexicon Græco-Latinum*. Cura et opera *P. Hermannii Goldhagen, Societatis Jesu*. Editio catholica novissima, cum *permissu superiorum*. See the *Gottingen Review* for 1753, N° 93.

he has produced false evidence from other manuscripts in favour of that verse. On the other hand, we must conclude that it reads 9<sup>105</sup>, 1 Tim. iii. 16. because Goldhagen has not quoted it for <sup>9</sup>, the reading of the Vulgate<sup>216</sup>. It deserves to be more accurately examined, and completely collated.

180. Montfortianus, called also Dublinensis, probably the same which Erasmus entitled Britannicus, noted 61 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. in the second 40, and in the third 34, contains the whole New Testament, but is written in a modern hand, and is probably of the sixteenth century. The leaves are a thick glazed paper<sup>217</sup>, which Ycard took for vellum, and in consequence ascribed to this manuscript a too great antiquity. Another proof that has been alleged of its antiquity is, that it has readings, which are found neither in the Complutum edition, nor in that of Erasmus: but this shews only that it was not copied from one of those editions, not that it is more ancient than the invention of printing. See the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 156—160<sup>218</sup>. Unimportant as this manuscript may appear, on account of its modern date, it deserves a circumstantial description, as it is one of those two manuscripts which alone contain the celebrated passage of the three that bear record in heaven, 1 John v. 7. I am indeed persuaded that this passage is neither genuine, nor of any importance in dogmatical theology; but since it is a subject of so much controversy, and the advocates for its authenticity appeal to the Montfortianus in support of their doctrine, the manuscript itself becomes important in polemical criticism. Beside the common works in which the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are described, the reader may consult Bengel's remarks, 1 John v. 7. § vi. n. vi. and the writers which he has quoted; also Wettstein's note to this passage, and my *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 184, 185.

The name of this manuscript is derived from a former proprietor. Mill relates, § 1379, that it belonged originally to one Eroy, a Franciscan friar, then to Thomas Clement,

Clement, afterwards to William Chauc, and lastly to Thomas Montfort<sup>219</sup>. Since the time of Usher, it has been preserved in the library of Trinity college in Dublin, where it is noted G. 97. and hence it is sometimes called *Dublinensis*. As Erasmus, in the two first editions of his Greek Testament, omitted 1 John v. 7, but in the later editions inserted it, because he had found it, as he relates, in a codex Britannicus; it has been concluded, with a very great degree of probability, that the Montfortianus is the same as the Britannicus of Erasmus, because, though every manuscript in Great Britain has been carefully searched, this is the only one which contains the passage in question<sup>220</sup>.

Though no critic would ascribe a high antiquity to the Montfortianus, yet, on the other hand, we have no reason to suspect that it is a mere transcript from the Complutensian Polyglot<sup>f</sup>, as is said of the Codex Ravianus, which I shall describe in the sequel. For the difference is strongly marked in numerous passages, and even the text in question, for which this manuscript is famous, is not the same as in that Polyglot.

Mill has observed, that this manuscript has a very great number of readings, which are peculiar to itself: he has counted not less than 140; and though this number has been diminished, since more manuscripts have been collated, yet it still remains considerable.

Erasmus describes the Codex Britannicus as a latinizing manuscript: Wetstein entertains the same sentiments with respect to the Montfortianus, which he supports by several examples, though they afford not absolute conviction. But the passage in question, 1 John v. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Semler has another suspicion with regard to this manuscript, namely, that the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot procured it to be written, in order to serve their own purpose, because Cardinal Ximenes was inclined in favour of the edition of Erasmus. See his examination of the New Testament, printed at Alcala, p. 133. But this suspicion is not supported by sufficient authority, and it may be observed, that both the adversaries and the advocates of 1 John v. 7. have neglected too frequently the rules of moderation and impartiality<sup>221</sup>.

v. 7. without inquiring whether it be genuine or not, affords the very strongest proof of Wettstein's assertion; for in the Cod. Mont. it not only differs from the usual text, but is written in such Greek as manifestly betrays a translation from the Latin. I will transcribe it line for line, with all the abbreviations, as it is given by Travis in his Letters to Gibbon, p. 153.

Οτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυ  
 ρουντ' εν τω ουνω, πηρ, λογος, καὶ πνα αγιον.  
 καὶ οὔτοι οἱ τρεῖς εν εἰσι  
 Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυ  
 ρουντ' εν τη γη, πνα, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα<sup>222</sup>.

Here the article is omitted before the words expressive of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, because there is no article in the Latin, and it occurred not to the translator that the usual Greek was *ο πατηρ, ο λογος, το πνευμα*. He has also *εν τη γη*, which is false Greek, for *επι της γης*, because he found in the Latin, in *terrâ*<sup>223</sup>. He has likewise omitted *και οἱ τρεῖς εἰς το εν εἰσιν*<sup>224</sup>, which is wanting in many Latin manuscripts<sup>225</sup>, because the Lateran council, held in 1215, had rejected it through polemical motives.

In the Curæ in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 184. I have noted three passages in the Gospel of St. Mark, which perfectly coincide with the Syriac version. What I have there observed, I will add in a note\*, because a knowledge of the Montfort manuscript is of some consequence, and the Curæ, which contain dry and critical researches, are not in the hands of every reader. The text, 1 John v. 7. cannot have been taken from the Syriac, for it is wanting in that version. A remarkable reading, *εγκλειν*, Luke xviii. 1. is found in the

\* Solus hic cum Syro Marc. iii. 22, omittit prius *ον*, atque versu 34 *κακλρ*, quod et Latino codice Vercellensi abest. Capitis vi. versu 48, cum omnes pene codices habeant *ερχεται προς αττορς*, hisque duabus vocibus omisiss, Cantabrigiensis cum Vercellensi et Vindobonensi latinis, *ερχεται ο ιησορς*, solus e Graecis Montfortianus utramque lectionem conjunxit, *ερχεται προς αττορς ο ιησορς*, idemque et Syrus fecit, atque ex Latinis codicibus Brixienfis.

the Montfortianus and Alexandrinus, but in no other: If this manuscript is the same as the Britannicus, the first extracts were made from it by Erasmus, but more complete extracts were given in the London Polyglot, though these extend only as far as the beginning of the epistle to the Romans.

181. *Mori primus*, or M. 1, noted 60, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the fourth 10, contains the Gospels, written in a very neat hand, in the year 1297, and the book of Revelation, which is written in a more modern hand. Luke xv. 15. it is the only one of the manuscripts quoted by Wetstein, that has *αγγελον* in the singular, which must be a very ancient reading, for it is found in both Syriac versions, both Arabic versions, all the old Latin and the Vulgate: it was also discovered by Matthäi, in the Moscow Codex x. The manuscript in question, belonged formerly to More, bishop of Norwich, with whose permission Mill made extracts from it: at present it is preserved, as well as the following manuscript, in the University library at Cambridge, to which it was given by George I. together with the bishop's whole library<sup>226</sup>.

182. *Mori secundus*, or M. 2. an evangelistarium, supposed to be written about the year 1000, formerly in the possession of Bishop More, but at present in Cambridge. It has been collated by Mill, and is noted by Wetstein Evangelistarium 4<sup>227</sup>.

183. *Moscuenfis*, noted 87 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, preserved in Moscow; but the latter part, from John vii. to the end, is written in a more modern hand, which was finished, however, so early as the year of Christ 1000, and the more ancient part is referred, by Bengel, to the eighth century. We know nothing more of this manuscript than what is given in Bengelii *Introductio in crisin N. T.* § 7, where readings are given which had been extracted by Professor Gros. Wetstein has nothing more than what he borrowed from Bengel; but we may expect more certain and complete accounts of it

in the prefaces to St. Matthew and St. Mark's Gospels, which will shortly be published by Matthäi<sup>228</sup>.

184. Mosquenses a C. F. Matthäi excepti. While Matthäi was Professor in Moscow, he found in that city a very considerable number of manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which he has collated with great accuracy, and communicated to the world their various readings in his edition of the New Testament, in Greek and Latin, which was begun in 1782, and which I shall describe in the chapter relating to the editions of the Greek Testament. Though he collated above twenty manuscripts, yet, as his publication is not yet finished, I shall include them all under a single number. In his prefaces, he has generally given some description of them, and either at the beginning or end of each volume, specimens of their letters in copper-plate. But I shall make no use of this work on the present occasion, partly because it is hitherto incomplete, and the description of several manuscripts is still wanting; partly because the plates and the description are in different volumes, which creates confusion: and I shall be the more easily excused, as we may hope that the editor himself will add, at the end of his publication, a regular catalogue of the Moscow manuscripts, with reference both to the plates and the descriptions<sup>229</sup>.

Though these manuscripts are not of the highest antiquity, they are far from being modern, since many of them were written in the eleventh century. As the Russian is a daughter of the Greek church, it of course follows, that they very frequently contain the readings of the Byzantine edition, especially as they were written either in Constantinople itself, or in some Greek province: and we have equal reason to expect a coincidence with the Slavonian or Russian version, and the quotations of Chrysostom and Theophylact. At the same time, I have observed many readings that were usual, not only in the West of Europe, but also in Egypt; and several remarkable, though dubious readings, have been confirmed by the authority of the Mos-

cow manuscripts. Not one of them has the spurious passage, 1 John v. 7. If I were in possession of a regular and accurate catalogue of them, I should be able to communicate more information, as I find it difficult to collect, at present, the detached remarks which I have made on different papers.

Since high antiquity cannot be ascribed to these manuscripts, and they belong to an edition, in which difficult passages were frequently removed by critical conjecture, I would not venture to apply their readings with the same certainty as those of more ancient manuscripts, whenever the question relates to points, that are obscure and perplexed. Our editions of the Greek Testament have *και παντων τα δεσμα ανεδη*, Acts xvi. 26. Now this appears incredible, for if the bands of all the prisoners had been loosed, setting aside the improbability that this effect should have been produced by an earthquake, they would not have remained quietly in prison, the doors being opened, as we cannot suppose that they were all innocent, like Paul and Silas. Here the two Moscow manuscripts, d and l, have *και παντα τα δεσμα ανεδη*, which may be applied to Paul and Silas only. But this is perhaps only a modern correction, made to avoid a difficulty, and not to be admitted without the authority of a more ancient evidence <sup>230</sup>.

185. Norimbergenfis, an Evangelistarium, preserved in the city library at Nuremberg, supposed to be 700 years old, and whose readings are said to have a great conformity with those of the Cantabrigienfis, Stephani, Basileensis γ, and Leicestrenfis. A description of it is given in the Altdorf Literary Museum for the year 1778. Vol. I. part 4<sup>th</sup>.

186. The three following manuscripts belong to New College, in Oxford; extracts from which were first given in the London Polyglot, and these were afterwards revised by Mill. Before the time of Wettstein, and even in the first volume of his edition, we find very confused accounts of them. For instance, Mill mentions in his index only two, N. 1, and N. 2, and describes these



two only, § 1388 and 1389, yet he writes, § 1423, in *collegio novo tres codices, evangelia recentis scripturæ, Actus Apostolici et epistolæ catholicæ manus vetustioris; itemque acta et epistolæ Paulinæ et catholicæ.* His Codex, N. 1, must, according to his description, contain only the Gospels, yet he frequently quotes it in the Acts of the Apostles. It appears then that he has committed several mistakes of memory<sup>21</sup>. Wetstein, in his second volume, p. 453, gives a more clear account of them, by which I shall abide, as he probably paid all possible attention to a subject, in which he attempted to correct not only the faults of his predecessors, but his own. He saw these manuscripts in 1715, but it does not appear that he deemed them worthy of a collation.

This manuscript, noted 58 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the London Polyglot, and the editions of Fell and Mill, N. 1, or Nov. 1, is a very modern manuscript of the four Gospels, written since the invention of printing, and seems to be related to the Montfortianus and Lincolnienfis, which are likewise modern.

187. N. 1, as noted in the London Polyglot, in Mill, Nov. 2, or N. 2, and 43 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul<sup>22</sup>. It has a reading which is very remarkable, whether it be genuine or spurious, Heb. vi. 2. *Βαπτισμῶν διαδοχῆς*. If it be spurious, it is at least an ingenious conjecture. A similar correction, or scholion, is undoubtedly *ἐπισυμῶν* for *διανοῶν*, Ephes. ii. 3. which is found in no other manuscript. These examples are a proof of the ingenuity of the copyist, but they are no recommendation of the readings of this manuscript considered as evidence.

188. N. 2, as noted in the Polyglot and Mill's Index, but in Mill's Various Readings, noted N. 1, and 36 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles.

The extracts from these three manuscripts are probably as confused as the description that has been given  
of

of them, and it were to be wished that they were collated anew<sup>223</sup>.

189. *Parrhafii*, noted 108 in the first part of *Wetstein's N. T.*, is a manuscript of the Gospels, of which *Montfaucon* in his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 308, and *Trechow* in his *Tentamen*, p. 22, have given an account. It has received this name from its former proprietor, *Aulus Janus Parrhafius*, who died in 1533, and left it to *Antonius Seripandus*, the father of *Cardinal Hieronymus Seripandus*: afterwards it came into the library belonging to the monastery of *Johannes de Carbonaria*, in *Naples*, whence it was sent as a present to the Emperor *Charles VI.* and is now in the Imperial library at *Vienna*, where it is called *Neapolitanus 1*, or *Auctarii bibliothecæ Vindobonensis 1*. I know not why *Wetstein* has given it a place in his catalogue, as he has quoted no extracts from it, but I cannot reject it from the present list, as it is found in *Wetstein's Prolegomena*. *Treschow* has made extracts from the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, from which it appears that this manuscript harmonizes with the Latin version<sup>224</sup>.

190. *Dominici Passionei*, N° lxxii. noted G in the third part of *Wetstein's N. T.*, contains the Acts of the Apostles, beginning with ch. viii. 10. the catholic epistles, and those of *St. Paul*, as far as *Heb. xiii. 10*. *Montfaucon* refers it to the ninth, *Blanchini* to the eighth, or even to the seventh century. The last mentioned critic has given several readings from it, which *Wetstein* has inserted in his collection<sup>225</sup>.

191. *Per. or Perronianus*<sup>226</sup>, noted 91 in the first part of *Wetstein's N. T.*, is a manuscript of the four Gospels, which *Montfaucon* supposed to have been written in the tenth century. He communicated the extracts which were inserted by *Mill*.

192. *Pet. 1*, or *Petavianus primus*, noted 44 in the second part of *Wetstein's N. T.*, in the third 38, contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. *Wetstein* places it in the thirteenth century; but *Mill*; whose judgement on this subject is not equal to that of *Wetstein*, makes it two or three centuries more ancient.

cient. It belonged formerly to Paulus Petavius<sup>237</sup>, from whose heirs it was purchased by Queen Christina, and presented to Isaac Vossius, whence it came with the rest of his manuscripts into the University library at Leyden, where it is noted 77. It was first collated, together with the two following manuscripts, by Claude Sarrau, whose extracts were inserted in Fell's edition. But this editor was in possession of more complete extracts than those which were printed in his New Testament; these more complete extracts were used by Mill, who collated also the manuscript from Acts x. 26. to the end of the epistles. Wetstein procured another copy of Sarrau's extracts, and made himself a new collation in April 1731.

193. Pet. 2, or Petavianus secundus, noted 45 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 39, in the fourth 11, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation: but it has the following chasms, 1 Cor. iii. 16—x. 13. the whole epistle of St. James, except the four last verses, 3 John 9 to the end, and the epistle of St. Jude. Sarrau's extracts from this and the following manuscript, were used in the editions of Fell, Mill, and Wetstein, in the manner above described.

194. Pet. 3, noted 46 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 40, in the fourth 12, is likewise a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. It was purchased by Queen Christina, and after her death it came with the rest of her books into the Vatican library. Wetstein contends that this is the same manuscript as that which was frequently quoted by Johannes Gagnæus, and which was kept in his time at St. Denys; and that Bengel therefore was guilty of a mistake, in quoting the Petavianus 3, and the Dionysianus Gagnæi, as two different manuscripts. One of the most striking instances of a scholion obtruded on the text, is found Acts i. 12. where this manuscript, as an explanation of σαββατε ὁδον, inserts τοῦτον οὐ το διασημα, ὁσον δυνατόν Ἰσραϊον περιπατεῖν ἐν σαββατῷ, but I am ignorant whether the words, of which these are an explanation, are omitted or not<sup>238</sup>. 1 Cor. xi. 25. ὁσαυτὶς αὐ πινετε. is left out in this

this manuscript, an omission observable in no other than the suspected Leicestrensis. It is the only one which omits *τραγων*, Heb. ix. 19. a word which has occasioned considerable difficulty to the commentators, because Moses makes no allusion to goats; but the omission is ratified by the authority of the Syriac and the Arabic. In the Curæ in *Actus Apostolorum*, Syriacos § xi. I have taken notice of several other examples where it coincides with the Syriac in remarkable readings. The singular reading *το παραπτωμα*, Rom. v. 18. is peculiar to the Petavianus 3, the Augiensis, and the Boernerianus. It is one of the few that have *εγκακουμεν*, 2 Cor. iv. 1. which I noticed at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> section of the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter. It omits the suspicious passage *μηδεν τοιςτοις τηρειν αυτες, ει μη*, Acts xxi. 25. in conjunction with two manuscripts only, but the omission is supported by the authority of the Syriac, Vulgate, Coptic, and Ethiopic. In short, it harmonizes with evidence of great authority and antiquity, though it is not wholly free from blemishes.

195. Ravii, or Berolinensis, noted 110 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., but not numbered in the following parts, is a manuscript of the whole New Testament. It belonged in the last century to Professor Rave of Upsal, who said that he brought it with him from the East, and that he gave for it 200 rix-dollars. From the hands of Rave it came, I know not by what means, into the Electoral library in Berlin. Saubertus speaks of it in the year 1672, as follows: *Manuscriptum Nov. Test. pervetustum membranaceum, literis uncialibus exaratum, quod 200 imperialibus emptum ex Oriente attulit, et uti fama fert, Serenissimi Electoris Brandenburgici illustri bibliothecæ consecravit Johannes Ravius*. This is probably an erratum for Christianus Ravius; though it is written in this manner not only by Saubert, but, as I was informed by Pappelbaum, in a letter, dated Jan. 21, 1787, in the subscription of the manuscript itself, consecravit Johannes Ravius Prof. Ups.<sup>a</sup> Whether

<sup>a</sup> John Rave was never Professor in Upsal, but Christian Rave. See Jöcher's Dictionary of learned men.

ther by consecravit is to be understood, that he sold it for 200 dollars, as Dr. Semler supposes, or gave it as a present to the generous and pious Elector, in the hope of being more amply rewarded, is a question which I will not examine at present. Saubert collated this manuscript in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and printed the extracts in his *Variæ lectiones textus Græci Evangelii S. Matthæi. Helmstadii, 1672.* Mill attempted in vain to procure this book<sup>1</sup>, we must therefore not expect to find in his edition, the readings of the Codex Ravianus. Wetstein has generally thought them unworthy of notice, as he considered the whole manuscript as a gross imposture: but in Bengelii *Apparatus Criticus*, we find those which Bengel selected as worthy of notice; it being well known, that it was the practice of this critic to insert those readings only, which appeared to him of the most importance.

This manuscript, whether it be entitled to respect or to contempt, is yet of some consequence in critical and dogmatical theology, because it is the second of the two manuscripts which have 1 John v. 7. And whether it be genuine or spurious, yet after the serious controversy which has been conducted relative to that text, it deserves a more impartial examination than has been hitherto bestowed on it, because it contains one half of the sum total of the evidence in favour of that passage. A fac simile of its characters, representing 1 John v. 7. may be seen in the copper-plate prefixed to Goeze's *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*, Hamburg 1766, and another representing Matth. ii. 1. in the third plate of Treschow's *Tentamen*. They are not uncial letters, but nearly though not exactly the same with those of the Complutensian Bible<sup>239</sup>.

Saubert entitles it, *Manuscriptum pervetustum*, a name which is likewise given it by most of the advocates for the passage above-mentioned; some ascribing to it an antiquity of 5007 ears, others going so far as to make it a 1000 years old. But the very learned and sagacious La Croze, who being Librarian in Berlin, had this

<sup>1</sup> See § 1405 of his *Prolegomena*.

this manuscript frequently in his hands, and was able to examine the subject with the utmost precision, maintains that it is the work of an impostor, written long after the invention of printing, even so late as the seventeenth century, and copied from the Complutensian Bible. He relates, that even the errors of the press are copied in the manuscript, and that the imposition betrays itself by the chalk, which is still visible on the parchment, and the pale ink<sup>k</sup>, which was purposely chosen to give it an air of antiquity. This was written by a man who was no enemy to the doctrine of the Trinity; he expresses himself in the same manner in his letters to Bengel and Wettstein, to which these critics appeal; likewise in his letter to Achard, which is the first in the collection entitled *Thesaurus epistolicus La Crozianus*; also in his letter to Emlyn, which is printed in Semler's collection of Criticisms, relative to passages in Scripture alleged in proof of doctrines, Part I. p. 312<sup>240</sup>; and lastly, in a letter to a friend of David Martin, which letter Martin printed. Martin, though by no means a profound critic, advanced arguments in favour of this manuscript in his *Verité du Texte*, 1 Jean v. 7. which deserve examination. Miffy answered them in the *Journal Britannique* 1753, Mai et Juin, and Semler likewise condemned this manuscript in his *Collection of criticisms*, published in 1764; but Goeze supported it in his *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*. The history of this controversy I related more at large in the third edition of this Introduction, where I mentioned the arguments advanced on both sides of the question, but I omit them at present, not only because they take up too much room, but because the question is now decided<sup>241</sup>. It cannot be denied, that La Croze and De Miffy introduced so much satire and ridicule in their replies to Martin, that they diminished the confidence which the public would otherwise have placed in their assertions; and though they contended that the errata of the Complutensian

<sup>k</sup> *Atramentum pallidum de industria adhibitum, ut nimirum antiquitatem felicius mentiretur.* *Thef. epist. tom. III, p. 2.*

plutenian Bible were copied in this manuscript, they produced no examples in proof; we had therefore very insufficient documents for a decision on this subject, the only extracts, which had been given, being those of Saubert from the Gospel of St. Matthew, and even in these we could place no perfect confidence. In the third edition, therefore, I expressed my doubts on this manuscript, but added, 'there is a mode of determining, from the very characters of the manuscript, whether it be genuine or not, a mode on which no man has thought, in consequence of the warmth which both parties have displayed, in relation to the controverted passage, 1 John v. 7. Namely, it is necessary to examine, whether the characters are uniformly the same throughout, or whether they are stiff in the beginning, and more current toward the end. In the latter case, we may conclude that a modern impostor attempted to imitate the types of the Complutum edition.'

This examination has been made by Pappelbaum, and his Inquiry into the Codex Ravianus<sup>242</sup>, published at Berlin in 1785, has put an end to the controversy, by proving beyond a doubt, that the whole is an imposture, and that the manuscript is a mere copy of the Complutensian Bible. He has carefully collated several books of the New Testament, and produced many examples where they coincide, even in the utmost minutiae of the errors of the press<sup>243</sup>. He relates also, that the hand is not uniformly the same throughout; that in the beginning of the manuscript, the resemblance of its letters to those of the Complutum Bible is greater, than towards the end, where the copyist appears to have written in greater haste; that in the first part they not only are stiff and formal, but likewise smaller, so that the number of lines in each page, which at the commencement amounted to twenty-four, is reduced towards the close even to twenty-one. Pappelbaum has observed at the same time, that a very striking difference is sometimes visible between the two texts; but these deviations arose not from accident, but from design, and were made with a view of concealing the

the imposture, for they are not to be discovered in scattered passages throughout the whole work, but only in some few single places, where error is heaped on error, as Rev. vi. 7, 8. for instance, in which two verses alone are not less than six various readings. Griesbach has treated of this manuscript in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxxx—cxcii. where he observes that the impostor has taken almost all his various readings from the margin of Stephen's edition, with exception to thirteen, which are evident errata.

More may be seen on this subject in the *New Orient. Bibl.* Vol. I. p. 1—20. where I have reviewed Pappelbaum's work. It is true that this manuscript has found a new advocate in Mr. Travis, in his *Letters to Gibbon*, published in 1785, but he is a most partial advocate, having never seen the manuscript itself, and having no further knowledge of the subject, than the intelligence, which he received from Berlin, of which he printed only so much as best suited his own purpose. See the *New Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 152—156.

Enough, and more than enough, has been here said of a manuscript, that is a mere imposture<sup>244</sup>. Let it be considered in future as having no critical existence, and never quoted in support of 1 John v. 7.

196—220. The following manuscripts are entitled *Codices Regii*, agreeably to the usage of the French language, because they are preserved in the royal library in Paris, whence they are sometimes called *Parisienses*. Many of them were used by Stephens, in his edition of the New Testament, and these are quoted under the titles *Sthephani ζ*, *Stephani β*, &c. Of these I shall take no notice in the description of the *Codices Stephanici*, because I include them here under the *Codices Regii*. These latter, that the reader may more easily find them in other works, I will arrange according to the numbers, by which they were noted in the royal library in the time of Wetstein, and by which he himself has noted them. But Wetstein, though he has himself examined them, has in some cases simply followed Le Long, as he acknowledges



knowledges p. 40. of the first edition of his *Prolegomena*, published in 1730. At present, they are noted in the royal library by different numbers, which I will likewise add, as they were communicated to me by Mr. Fleischer, a Norwegian, and formerly one of my pupils, to whom I am indebted for a more accurate description of these manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. He commenced his literary travels, of which the libraries in Paris were a principal object, at the very time when I was engaged in the publication of the second edition of this Introduction. I sent him therefore the first sheets that were printed off, with a proposal of many questions relative to the *Codices Regii*; his answers I could communicate at that time only in the preface, but they are here arranged under each separate article.

196. Regius 1869<sup>m</sup>, noted 19 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains, according to Wetstein, the four Gospels. He appeals to Simon, who examined this manuscript, for the story of the adulteress in the eighth chapter of St. John: but this is related by Simon, in the thirteenth chapter of his *Histoire critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, from which it appears that the manuscript is a *catena patrum* on the four Gospels<sup>245</sup>. No further extracts have been made from it, wherefore it is no otherwise entitled to a place in this catalogue, than

<sup>1</sup> The following is an extract of his letter, dated Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1764.  
 'The manuscripts are arranged not according to the ancient numbers, but according to those which are given them in the printed catalogue: but there is in the library a written catalogue, in which the new numbers have been added. There is no manuscript, in which we find not two or more ancient numbers, according to the different arrangements, which have taken place at different times. This is the reason that several manuscripts have the same number, which subsequent librarians have endeavoured to distinguish, by the addition of the cyphers 1. 2. 3. &c. instead of denoting them by a totally new number. The same number has been likewise given to several of these manuscripts, through the forgetfulness of the person who noted them: these again are distinguished by the addition of the cyphers 1. 2. &c.

<sup>m</sup> This is the only ancient number which Fleischer was unable to find; I know not therefore by what number it is at present noted.

than as Wettstein has taken it into his own, and denoted it by a number. The same may be said of many other Codices Regii, which Wettstein has admitted into his catalogue for no other reason, than because Simon has quoted them for John viii. But he would have acted more properly, if he had not numbered those which he quotes in only a single instance, and he would have been the more justifiable, as he has not numbered in his Prolegomena the Codices Regii 1884 and 2863, though he has quoted them on the same occasion, p. 148<sup>246</sup>. I shall say nothing more then of such manuscripts, than that Simon quotes them for John viii. from which it is to be understood, that they have been no further examined.

197. Regius 1881, at present 54, noted 16 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a Greek-Latin<sup>a</sup> manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the fourteenth century. Its Latin text is the Vulgate. Wettstein collated it in 1715.

198. Regius 1883, noted 20 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with a catena patrum, which Simon quotes John viii. It is noted at present 188<sup>248</sup>.

199. Regius 1886, at present 219, noted 16 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 12, in the fourth 4, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation<sup>249</sup>. The epistle to the Hebrews is placed between the epistle to the Thessalonians and that to Timothy. Some critics have referred this manuscript to the tenth century, but Wettstein, who collated it in 1715, supposes it to be more modern.

200. Regius 2241, noted 18 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. Wettstein describes it as quatuor Evangelia continens, and he says it is one of those which Simon quotes John viii. But neither in the thirteenth chapter

<sup>a</sup> Fleischer relates that there are many chasms in the Latin version, for instance Mark xi. 14. The whole Gospel of St. Luke is wanting, except the three first verses, and ch. v. 21, 22, 23. In the Gospel of St. John it goes no further than ch. xii. 17. The Greek text is likewise defective, from Mark xvi. 14. to the end of that Gospel<sup>247</sup>.

chapter of Simon, nor among Wettstein's various readings to John viii. have I been able to discover a Codex Regius with this number, nor is it mentioned by Le Long. Perhaps it is a mistake for 2441, which Le Long, p. 180. describes <sup>250</sup> as containing the Gospel of St. John, with a catena patrum\*.

201. Regius 2242, at present 49, Stephani Codex ζ, noted 8 in the second part <sup>p</sup> of Wettstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. Wettstein remarks, that Stephens could not have collated the Acts of the Apostles, as he has never quoted in that book his Codex ζ.

I shall spare my readers probably some trouble, by taking notice of a mistake, which has exposed me to much difficulty and doubt relative to this manuscript, of which I am unable however to give a complete solution. I had formerly described it as one manuscript, relying on the authority of Mill and Le Long, from whom Wettstein has generally taken the numbers, by which the Codices Regii are noted in the royal library. Le Long says, in his *Bibliotheca sacra* <sup>252</sup>, Tom. I. p. 178. *Quatuor Evangelia, epistolæ Pauli, et canonicæ<sup>q</sup>, Græce: codex membranaceus, quo usus est Stephanus, quem-*  
que

\* The following is the answer which Fleischer gave to my Query.  
<sup>c</sup> Codex 2241 is noted at present 47. At the beginning is stuck a paper, on which the old number is written: where we find 2241, but it is easy to discover that 2242 was the original number, unless we suppose that an erratum had taken place. It contains the four Gospels, the Acts, and the catholic epistles, and all the epistles of St. Paul, in the usual order. The three last verses of the epistle to the Romans are wanting. Then follow two Synaxaria, and last of all the book of Revelation <sup>251</sup>. I have twice examined the whole manuscript, in order to be more certain. The manuscript, quoted by Le Long as Codex 2441, which at present is noted 209, contains only several ancient commentaries on St. John.

<sup>p</sup> In the third part it is not noted.

<sup>q</sup> In the *Journal des Scavans* for 1720, p. 650: Le Long enumerates among the catholic epistles, only those of St. James, St. Peter, and the first of St. John. It appears therefore that the second and third epistles of St. John, with that of St. Jude, are wanting.

que litera ζ notavit. Bibl. Reg. 2242. But Wetstein divides Stephen's seventh manuscript into two, to one of which he says the number 2241 belongs, to the other 2242. For in his first part he says, codex Stephani ζ, Regius 2242 Evangelia continet, and in his second part, Stephani ζ, Regius 2241, continet Acta, epistolas canonicas et Paulinas. Acta tamen a Stephano collata non sunt. Whether Wetstein or Le Long is mistaken, I am unable to determine, but Wetstein, in the edition of his Prolegomena prefixed to his Greek Testament, contradicts what he had said in the first edition of them, where he writes, p. 39. Codex Regius 2242 continet Evangelia, epistolas Pauli, Jacobi, Petri, et Johannis primam (therefore not all the catholic epistles) Stephano est ζ. Unde vero Millius compererit etiam Acta Apostolorum ut perhibet in eodem codice comprehensa esse, cum apud ipsum Stephanum nullum ejus rei sit indicium, fateor me ignorare. I requested Fleischer therefore to examine this subject himself, and the answer which he gave me is the following: Codex 2242, in which the number is very differently written at the beginning, at present noted 49, contains the Canones evangeliorum, and the epistola Eusebii ad Carpianum, to which are added the four Gospels. On the outside of the volume is written *ευαγγελιον* α, and in several places the letter H, with a crown over it. An error therefore has been committed by those who have described this manuscript, both in respect to the number by which it is noted, and likewise in respect to its contents <sup>253</sup>.

202. Regius 2243, at present 51, Küster's Paris. 2, and noted M in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, which was given by the Abbé François de Camps <sup>254</sup>. A fac simile of its characters may be seen in Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. I. in the fifth plate, annexed to page 492. Several remarks are made in it, both in Russian and Arabic, which shew that it was during some time in the East. Montfaucon places it in the tenth century, Le Long in the ninth. In the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*,  
 § xi.

§ xi. I have remarked the coincidence of its readings with those of the Syriac version. Küster has added extracts from it to Mill's edition.

203. Regius 2244\*, at present \* 50, Küster's Paris. 6, noted 13 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, which, though not more ancient probably than the thirteenth century, is of very great importance. It has the following chasms, Matth. i. 1—ii. 21. xxvi. 33—53. xxvii. 26—xxviii. 10. Mark i. 2. to the end of the chapter, and John xxi. 2. to the end of the Gospel. It has been most accurately described by Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ*, p. cliv—clxiv. whose account I shall follow, both in this and the following manuscript<sup>256</sup>. Küster gave extracts of this manuscript, which Wettstein borrowed from him, but according to Griesbach they are very incomplete, for he discovered in those parts which he collated, not less than 600 readings omitted by Küster, and inserted them in his *New Testament*, and *Symbolæ criticæ*. Properly speaking, Griesbach collated only three chapters, Matth. xiii, xiv, xv. the rest, as he says himself, only cursorily, and many passages, from the end of St. Luke's Gospel throughout the remaining part of the manuscript, he totally neglected. At the same time he expresses a wish, to which I give my hearty assent, that the whole manuscript might be completely and exactly collated. It is in my opinion of great importance, because it is frequently in favour of readings, which are supported by the fewest manuscripts, and are yet entitled to the preference: for instance *κρησεσθι*, Luke xxi. 19. Wettstein has observed, that it frequently coincides with the *Leicestrensis*, and I remember to have found among his various readings, the numbers 13 and 69 so often together, that by an association of ideas, the one naturally excites the other. I  
will

\* The reader must not suppose that the number 2244, which occurs twice, is a mistake, for the same number is found in two manuscripts, which are distinguished by the addition of the cyphers 1. 2. as I was informed by Fleischer, whose account is confirmed by that of Griesbach<sup>255</sup>.

• Not 55, as I had written by mistake in the third edition.

will mention only one instance, Mark xv. 36. where they both agree in a reading, which seems to be only an uncertain conjecture. Griesbach has confirmed this agreement by many examples, but he has likewise produced instances in which they vary. He found also that this manuscript harmonizes in a very eminent manner with the quotations of Origen, which he has accurately collated: he refers it therefore to the Alexandrine edition, though he says that it has a certain mixture of the Western. To the arguments alleged by Griesbach respecting its edition, may be added the following, which is very decisive: it is the only manuscript which has the addition *και προεδραμεν αψασθαι αυτην*, John xx. 16. which is expressed in the New Syriac, or Philoxenian version, that was published at Alexandria.

204. Regius 2244 \*, at present 55, noted 17 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with a Latin version, and was written in the fifteenth century. That it has a Latin version, is asserted by Le Long, p. 180. but the silence of Wettstein on this subject made it a matter of doubt<sup>27</sup>, till Griesbach had examined the manuscript, who relates that the Latin text was written earlier than the Greek, and that they frequently differ from each other. Here then the Greek text cannot have been corrupted from the Latin. Wettstein examined this manuscript, but Griesbach says, *passim tantum inspexerat*: this latter critic has given more extracts from it, but has not regularly collated the whole manuscript, though he is of opinion that it deserves a new collation. It is one of those, to which the edition of Colinæus has a great resemblance. According to Wettstein, it was written by Jerom of Sparta, who was during some time Greek Professor in Paris, and the preceptor of Reuchlin and Budæus. It is true that Griesbach could discover no account of Jerom as the transcriber, yet the relation of Wettstein may very possibly be true.

205. Regius

\* See Note (').

205. Regius 2248, at present 56, noted 51 in the third part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the catholic epistles, those of St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and the book of Revelation<sup>t</sup>, written by Jerom of Sparta, quoted by Simon for 1 John v. 7. as an evidence against that passage.

206. Regius 2860, at present 68, noted 21 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and is quoted by Simon on the story of the adulteress, John viii.

207. Regius 2861<sup>u</sup>, at present 62, Stephani  $\pi$ , noted L in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with the following chasms, Matth. iv, 21—v, 14. xxviii, 17. to the end of the Gospel. Mark x, 17—30. xv, 10—20. John xxi, 15. to the end. Mill says, that it must contain likewise the Acts, or at least some of the last chapters, because Stephens quotes his Codex  $\pi$  five times in this book. Yet it is certain that this book is not contained in the manuscript, as appears from the evidence both of Fleischer and Lefs<sup>259</sup>, and the quotations, to which Mill alludes, were mere errata in the edition of Stephens. Beside those writers, which have given a general account of the manuscripts of the New Testament, the reader will find an excellent account of this in particular, drawn up by Dr. Lefs, and inserted in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IX. p. 144—147. Griesbach has given a still more accurate account of it in his Symbolæ, p. lxvi—cxli. of which I have given an abstract in the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 24—29<sup>260</sup>.

Simon believed this to be the most ancient of all the Codices Regii, and Wettstein went so far as to suppose, that it was one of those which were collated by Thomas of

<sup>t</sup> This account is given by Le Long, p. 181. It is true that Wettstein makes no mention of the Revelation, but this book is really contained in the manuscript, though, according to Fleischer's account, the eight last verses are wanting<sup>258</sup>. The same may be said of the three last verses of the epistle to the Romans. See ch. vi. sect. 10. of this Introduction.

<sup>u</sup> The figure 2361, in the Journal des Scavans 1720, must be an erratum, for it appears from Fleischer's account, that the manuscript noted 2361 contains only the writings of Chrysostom.

of Heraclea, in the seventh century, for the New Syriac version. But that this conjecture is wholly without foundation, appears from Ridley's Dissertation on the Syriac versions<sup>26</sup>. But however great the antiquity, to which this manuscript may lay claim, yet Mill entertained a very indifferent opinion of the accuracy of its text, and Wetstein contended that it latinized. Now I have frequently found it to coincide with the old Latin versions, in opposition to the Greek text, and also with the Syriac version, of which I have given examples in the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 187. But I have observed<sup>w</sup>, on the other hand, an example of coincidence with the Coptic version, Luke xxiv. 17. in an evident correction of the text, which is found in no other manuscript: and Luke xxiii. 42. it has, in conjunction with the Coptic and the Vulgate, *εις την βασιλειαν ου*, instead of *εν τη βασιλεια ου*. To this may be added, that Griesbach has found no manuscript that harmonizes in a greater degree with the Alexandrine edition, and especially with the readings of Origen. Hence it follows, that this manuscript cannot have been altered from the Latin. It appears rather to contain a rhapsody of readings, unless we have recourse to the hypothesis, that it contains a very great number of ancient readings, which we find scattered in different manuscripts, and different versions. Griesbach, who has examined it the most accurately, conjectures that the copyist made use of several manuscripts, and that he sometimes corrected the readings of one, from those of another. See his *Symbolæ*, p. lxx. To enable the reader to judge for himself, I will subjoin a few of its characteristic readings.

Matth. xxii. 16. it has *λεγοντας* for *λεγοντες*, which seems to be an evident grammatical correction: but it is likewise found in the Codex Colbertinus 6043.

Mark xi. 8. it is the only manuscript that has *αγρων* for *δενδρων*, which is undoubtedly a false, though very ancient Alexandrine reading. I call it Alexandrine, because

<sup>w</sup> Ch. vi. sect. 13.



cause it is found not only in the Coptic version, but in the New Syriac<sup>262</sup>, which was published at Alexandria, and corrected from Alexandrine manuscripts.

Luke iii. 1. it has a very remarkable reading. The common text is *Φιλιππῶν δὲ τῆ ἀδελφῆ αὐτοῦ τετράρχου τῆς Ἰταραίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδὸς χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίᾳ τῆς Ἀβιλήνης τετράρχου*, where the last *τετράρχου* appears to me to be spurious, for Lysanias was no longer alive at that time, and the city, which was formerly called after his name, Abila Lysaniæ, and afterwards *οἶκος Ζηνοδοῦρου*, belonged to Philip. See Josephi Antiquit. xv. 10. 1. xvii. 11. 4. I would therefore explain the passage, ‘While Philip was Tetrarch of Ituræa, Trachonitis, and the Abilene of Lysanias<sup>263</sup>.’ The suspicious word *τετράρχου*, at the end of the sentence, is omitted in this manuscript alone, and, what is a singular circumstance, we find the two first letters *TE*, but not the following<sup>264</sup>, as if the transcriber had begun to write the word, but had desisted, in consequence of having found in another manuscript, that the word was omitted. Luke x. 42. it has a reading which is most probably genuine, though supported by the authority of only a few manuscripts<sup>265</sup>, *ολιγῶν δὲ ἐστὶ χρεία, ἡ ἐνός*, which cannot be termed a latinizing reading, as it is found in Origen, in the Syriac, and in the Coptic versions, and the whole passage is omitted in several of the old Latin versions. Luke xi. 2—4. it is one of the few, in which the Lord’s Prayer is written without the interpolation from St. Matthew’s Gospel<sup>266</sup>. Luke xi. 41. it is the only manuscript that has *οὐτα* for *ἐνόντα*, but I have observed it in the Syriac, and some of the old Latin versions<sup>267</sup>. Luke xxiii. 45. it is the only one of those manuscripts, which contain the four Gospels complete (for in the Lectionaria this reading is very frequent) where we find *τὴν ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος*, a reading which is undoubtedly false, though so ancient as to have been quoted by Origen<sup>268</sup>. Luke xxiii. 42. it has, in conjunction with the Coptic and the Vulgate, *εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου*, which is undoubtedly a correction, but not necessarily from the Latin.

John i. 18. it is one of those two manuscripts which alone have *μονογενὴς θεός*, a reading of some importance, and confirmed by the quotations of the most ancient fathers, as well as by the Syriac and the Coptic versions<sup>269</sup>. John xiii. 2. it is the only manuscript that has *δειπνῶ γινόμενα*, 'while the supper was preparing.' My reasons for preferring this reading will be given in my notes to St. John's Gospel: it is a reading, which throws a light on a whole passage, which most commentators have found obscure.

Wetstein observes, that the transcriber has displayed an '*ingenium luxurians*,' that is, he has ventured very bold conjectures. Dr. Lef's observes, that he could discover no marks of it in this manuscript, but that the copyist appears to have been extremely ignorant. Now I believe that both critics are in the right: for the writer of this manuscript, who has been guilty of numberless orthographical errors, which Lef's has observed, and Griesbach, p. lxviii, lxix. has confirmed by very convincing examples, might have copied from a more ancient manuscript, in which these bold conjectures had been already made.

If the transcriber made use of several manuscripts, from which he selected readings, it follows that either he himself, or the writer of one of the more ancient manuscripts, was a man of learning. Now Wetstein has supported his charge by not a single example, and Griesbach relates, p. lxxv—lxxviii. that he could discover none. I have observed indeed critical conjectures, which I cannot always approve, but no proofs of a '*luxurians ingenium*.' In my opinion, therefore, it is one of our most valuable manuscripts.

Stephens was the first who collated it, but he printed only a part of his extracts. Beza published, from the written papers of Stephens, forty readings which that critic had left unprinted, among which the following long interpolation deserves attention. Mark xvi. 8. after *εφοβαντο γαρ*, it has *παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι του Πιτρον συντομως εξηγγειλαν· μετα δε ταυτα, και αυτος ο Ιησους*

απο ανατολης και αχρι δυσειας εξαπεστειλε δι αυτων το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της αιωνις σωτηριας. But Stephens is excusable, because this addition is carefully separated from the text; Wetstein collated it in 1715 more carefully than Stephens, yet he himself says that his collation was only cursory, and according to Griesbach he has produced readings, which are not in the manuscript. Wetstein was at that time only twenty-two years old. Griesbach has collated it more correctly, amended the faults of his predecessor, and added above a thousand readings. Whoever quotes this manuscript therefore in future, must quote not from Wetstein, but from Griesbach, who has given in his *Symbolæ* a very complete and accurate collection of its various readings.

208. Regius 2862, at present 83, Küster's Paris. 3, and noted 9 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the year 1168, by a transcriber whose name was Solomon.

Küster has printed extracts of this manuscript, from which Wetstein concluded that the manuscript was the same as Stephani β. If this be true, there must be an erratum in the edition of Stephens 1 Cor. xv. 44. where the Codex β is quoted for the reading *εἰς εἰς σωμα ψυχικον*, for our manuscript has not that epistle; and this supposition is the more credible, as the above-mentioned reading is quoted by Wetstein from Stephani Codex α. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why Wetstein quotes the Codex α, as he had never seen it; and after all, the erratum is perhaps in his edition.

209. Regius 2865, at present 91, Küster's Paris. 1, noted 10 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, of which extracts are found in Küster's edition. Griesbach<sup>270</sup> refers it to the thirteenth, or fourteenth century. It came undoubtedly from Greece, for it appears from the subscription, that Dorotheus, natione Græcus, archiepiscopus Metellinensis, who was present at the synod held at Florence in 1439, with a view of uniting the Greek and Latin churches, presented it to the canons of that city<sup>271</sup>.

Küster's collation is not accurate, as Griesbach has shewn by several examples, and he is of opinion that it deserves to be collated anew.

210. Another Regius 2865<sup>2</sup>, at present 85, Küster's Paris. 5, noted 12 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T.; in Griesbach 119. It is also a manuscript of the four Gospels. Küster made incomplete, but accurate extracts from it, and added them to Mill's edition. But Wetstein has created great confusion in regard to this manuscript, into which he was led by certain extracts, which de Missy had made from a Codex Victorinus, supposed to be the same with Stephani Codex 12. Now our Codex Regius 2865, and the Codex Victorinus, are two totally distinct manuscripts, though their readings frequently coincide, which induced Wetstein to suppose them one and the same; he united therefore into one mass, the readings quoted by Stephens from his Codex 12, those quoted by Küster from his Paris. 5, and the extracts of de Missy, as if they proceeded from one manuscript, which he has noted Codex 12, of which he has related a long history, where Griesbach<sup>273</sup> says there are as many errors as lines; and not contented with this confusion, he has added readings, which are found neither in the above-mentioned manuscripts, nor in any other, with which we are acquainted. Whenever Wetstein therefore quotes his Codex 12, the evidence must be considered as of no value.

From this perplexity we have been delivered by Griesbach, who has accurately collated both the manuscript in question, and the Victorinus (which I shall describe under the title Codex Stephani 12) has described them in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. cxliv—cli. and given extracts from them in his New Testament, on which we may depend. Wetstein contends, that Colinæus used this manuscript for his edition; now it certainly coincides

<sup>2</sup> In the Parisian library are two manuscripts with the same number, but they are distinguished by the addition of the smaller numbers 1 and 2. Le Long quotes the first 2865<sup>1</sup>, the second 2865<sup>2</sup>.<sup>274</sup>

cides in very many readings with the Victorinus, and both of them very frequently with the edition of Colinaeus, but which of the two were used by that editor, or whether he used both, it is difficult at present to determine. They are noted in Griesbach 119 and 120. The former, which is the manuscript in question, he refers to the twelfth century.

211. Regius 2866, at present 71, according to Fleischer, but 72 according to Griesbach<sup>274</sup>, Stephani Codex 6, noted 7 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels.

212. Regius 2867, at present 84, Stephani Codex 7, noted 4 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum. Fleischer says, 'on the outside of the volume is a crowned F. In many places incisions have been made in the leaves. In the Gospel of St. John, the first chapter is defective as far as the 13<sup>th</sup> verse, *ὅδε ἐκ θεληματος σαρκος.*'

213. Regius 2868, at present 64, Küfter's Paris. 8, noted 15 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a very neat copy of the Gospels, which Simon supposes was written for the use of a Greek church. See his Hist. du Texte du N. T. ch. xiii. Extracts from it were given by Küfter.

214. Regius 2869, at present 237, Stephani Codex 11, noted 12 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 10, in the fourth 2, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation<sup>275</sup>. This account is given by Wettstein, on whom we may depend, as he has used the manuscript himself, and collated it more accurately than Stephens. Fleischer also says expressly, 'it contains all the catholic, and all the epistles of St. Paul, in the usual order; last of all the Revelation of St. John<sup>276</sup>.' Mill had no further knowledge of it, than what he could derive from the few extracts of Stephens, whence he conjectures, § 1175. that it was very defective, because he found it seldom quoted. It seems that Stephens used it principally in the Revelation, as he had very few manuscripts of that book.

215. Regius

215. Regius 2870<sup>1</sup>, at present 102, Stephani Codex 1, noted 9 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 7, is a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles, to which the charge of latinizing has been laid. Mill supposed that it was likewise defective, for which he had no other reason, than because Stephens in many places had given no quotations from it. But Fleischer gives the following account: 'I know not why this manuscript has been supposed to be mutilated, for I have found it in no chasms, or vacant places<sup>277</sup>. It is neatly, and not too closely written. The epistle to the Hebrews is placed between the second to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy.'

216. Regius 2871, at present 106, Stephani Codex 2, noted 5 in the first, second, and third parts of Wettstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. According to Fleischer's account, the epistle to the Hebrews is placed between the second to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy, after which follow the Gospels<sup>278</sup>.

217. Regius 2872, at present 103, noted 11 in the third part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the Acts, and the catholic epistles, collated by Wettstein. Fleischer says, that it has likewise all the epistles of St. Paul<sup>279</sup>, but that in the Acts of the Apostles, there is a chasm in the second chapter from ο ηλιος, v. 20, to οτι κατελειψεν, v. 31.

218. Regius 3424, at present 119<sup>2</sup>, Küster's Paris 4, noted 11 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, supposed to have been written in the eleventh century. Extracts were given from it by Küster.

219. Regius 3424, at present 70, Küster's Paris 7, noted 14 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a very neat copy of the Gospels<sup>281</sup>, supposed by Wettstein to have

<sup>1</sup> The fig. 2878 in the *Journal des Sçavans*, Juin 1720, p. 650, is an erratum.

<sup>2</sup> According to Fleischer: but Griesbach expresses himself in a dubious manner, 'nunc 119, nisi forte nunc sit 121 Matthæum, et Marcum, et 122 Lucam cum Johanne listens<sup>280</sup>.'

have been written in the eleventh century. Others have referred it to the tenth, and even to the ninth century.

220. Regius 3425, at present 112, Stephani 1, noted 6 in the first, second, and third parts of Wettstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. The two last chapters of the epistle to Titus, and the first half of that to Philemon, as far as *μα σπλᾱγγα προσλαβῆ*, ver. 12. are wanting.

221. Reuchlini, or Capnioneus, noted 1 in the fourth part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of importance in biblical criticism, contains the book of Revelation, but it is not known where it is preserved at present. At least Bengel and Wettstein have sought for it in vain, both in Durlach and in other places, where remains of Reuchlin's library might be supposed to exist. The best description of this manuscript, as far as could be gathered from Reuchlin's accounts, is in Bengel's *Fundamenta criseos apocalypticæ*, sect. 17<sup>a</sup>.

Erasmus relates in his defence *adversus Stunicam*, that he used only one single manuscript of the Revelation for his edition of the New Testament. He has highly extolled its antiquity, and has even described it as *tantæ vetustatis, ut apostolorum ætate scriptum videri possit*, notwithstanding it contained an exposition of the Revelation written in the fifth, and, according to others, so late as the ninth century, by Andrew of Cæsarea. As Erasmus, in the three first editions of his New Testament, had no other Greek text of the Revelation, (for he used not the Complutensian Bible before the fourth) we may discover from his three first editions in a great measure the readings of the *Codex Reuchlinianus*; and with this view Bengel has extracted their readings in the book of Revelation. But it must be observed at the same time, that no absolute conclusion can be drawn from these three editions to the *Codex Reuchlinianus*, which could have only one reading in each text, whereas in the editions of Erasmus we find variety even in the Revelation; a proof that Erasmus applied either his

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own conjectures, or consulted other sources in particular readings. Besides, Erasmus himself acknowledges that Reuchlin's manuscript had several chasms, and that the last leaf in particular was wanting. In these cases he made a virtue of necessity, and translated the Latin into Greek.

Another manuscript, which likewise derives its name from Reuchlin, I have described above, N° 38, under the title *Basil. B. VI. 27.*

222. *Rhodiensis*, noted 50 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 52, is a copy of the epistles from the island of Rhodes; it is said to have been principally used in the edition of the Complutensian Bible, and is often quoted by Stunica as a very ancient and venerable manuscript, but by Erasmus it was supposed to latinize. We have no complete extracts from it, but merely what Stunica occasionally quotes, who mentions that this is the manuscript which the Complutensian Bible chiefly follows. Some critics therefore have rashly concluded, from the readings of the *Biblia Complutensia* to those of the *Codex Rhodiensis*, especially in the controversy relative to 1 John v. 7. an inference which is inadmissible. Unfortunately this manuscript is no where to be discovered; and though it has been supposed to be still in the library of Alcala, yet it would be in vain to search there, as Professor Moldenhawer relates that the manuscripts used for the Complutensian Bible are no longer in existence. More will be said on this subject, in the description of that edition.

223. *Roe 1*, noted 49 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript brought from Turkey by Sir Thomas Roe, in 1628, and presented to the Bodleian library in Oxford. Extracts were made from it by Mill.

224. *Roe 2*, brought at the same time by Sir Thomas Roe, and preserved in the Bodleian library, noted 47 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the epistles of St. Paul. It agrees with the Syriac and the Coptic<sup>282</sup> in the omission of *οφει*, Heb. xii. 18. an omission observed likewise in the *Codices Alex. and Ephremi.*

See



See N° 65. I have found other examples, in which it agrees with only a few, but important manuscripts in the support of an unusual reading.

225. Rutgerfii, noted 99 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, quoted by Heinsius, in his *Exercitationes Sacræ* <sup>283</sup>, from which Wetstein has borrowed his extracts.

226. Sangermanensis, in Mill Ger. an abbreviation for Germanensis, by others called Corbeiensis, noted E in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, from which Mill procured extracts <sup>284</sup>. A fac simile of its characters may be seen in Blanchini *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, P. I. in the last of the plates annexed to p. 533. Wetstein asserts, with some probability, that it is a copy of the Claromontanus, the text and corrections of which are here transcribed together, in such a manner as frequently to produce mere nonsense. But he has properly quoted the readings of this manuscript, though we must take care not to consider the Claromontanus and Sangermanensis as distinct evidence. The accurate description which Dr. Lefé has given of this manuscript, may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. IX. p. 148—151. Though Wetstein's conjectures appear to him extremely probable, yet he has made the following not unimportant objection. Rom. xii. 11. the Claromontanus has ΚΑΙΡΩ, but the Sangermanensis ΚΩ, which is an abbreviation for *καὶ ὥς*, and in the Latin dno; whence he concludes that the latter is not a copy of the former alone. His whole description is worthy of attention <sup>285</sup>. It is evident also, from Sabatier's Bible, that the Latin texts of the two manuscripts are often different.

227. Scaligeri, noted in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. *Evangelistarium* 6, in the second and third lectionarium 1, is preserved in the University library in Leyden, and contains lessons from the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalms, in Greek and Arabic, but it is imperfect. Wetstein, who collated it in 1731, has observed that its readings are allied to those of the Coptic version <sup>286</sup>.

228. Seide-

228. Seidelianus, noted 48 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 42, and in the fourth 13, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. Westermann, who collated it, and communicated the extracts to Küster, estimated its antiquity, though I know not on what grounds, at 700 years. Wetstein observes, that this collation is inaccurate, and that the Revelation is the only book on which he appears to have bestowed much diligence. Bengel procured from Westermann and Schmidlin a new and considerable collection of readings of this manuscript, which he inserted in his edition of the New Testament<sup>b</sup>; but Wetstein has made little use of these additions, as appears from 2-Pet. ii. 2. This manuscript, with several others, was brought from the East by Andrew Erasmus Seidel. Two of them will be described in the sequel under the title Codices Wolfiani<sup>c</sup>.

229. The five following Codices Seldeni are preserved in the Bodleian library in Oxford, and were collated by Mill<sup>287</sup>.

Seldeni 1, noted 53 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a very neatly written manuscript of the four Gospels, and was supposed by Mill to be 400 years old.

230. Seldeni 2, noted 54 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1338. It is the only MS. which has *αδεις* for *δαμονισθεις*, Mark v. 18. a reading found in the margin of the New Syriac version, and taken from Alexandrine manuscripts.

231. Seldeni 3, noted 55 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a more modern, but very neatly written manuscript of the four Gospels.

232. Seldeni 4, an ancient, but mutilated Evangelistarium, noted in Wetstein's N. T. Evangelistarium 21.

233. Sel-

<sup>b</sup> See the last edition of his Apparatus Criticus, P. IV. n. ix. § 98. p. 739. where, speaking in defence of his N. T. he says, codicis Seideliani lectiones bene multas, apud Küsterum haud obvias manui cel. Westermanni, et Jo. Christophori Schmidlini V. D. M. nunc apud Boeblingenses Superintenditis specialis, qui Francofurti ad Viadrum commoratus est, in acceptis refero.

<sup>c</sup> There is one, which contains the Gospel of St. John, but it has never been collated. See Bengel's Apparatus Criticus, p. 636.

233. Seldeni 5, likewise an ancient, but defective manuscript, noted in Wetstein's N. T. Evangelistarium 22.

234, 235, 236, 237. Stephani Codices, from  $\beta$  to  $\iota$ . This name is given to the manuscripts, which were used in Robert Stephens's edition of the Greek Testament: he did not collate them himself, but his son Henry Stephens, who was at that time too young, too impatient, and too little experienced in criticism, for an undertaking of that nature. It appears, from the preface of Robert Stephens, that they were used in order to rectify the text of the two first editions, printed in 1546 and 1549; but the readings themselves were first printed in the inner margin of the beautiful edition published in 1550, though it is evident, from the inspection of the margin, that it cannot contain all the readings of so many collated manuscripts. It is certain, that in those Codices Stephani which have been collated anew, many readings have been discovered that are not in the margin of Stephens's Greek Testament; but this is not wholly to be ascribed to the carelessness of Henry Stephens, because all his extracts were not printed, Beza having found among his papers a great many readings that are not in the margin of Stephens's edition. Another imperfection is the numerous errata, especially in the letters which denote the manuscripts, many of which were occasioned by the hurry of setting the press, the compositor having frequently taken from the box of types, which either preceded or followed that, from which he ought to have taken, putting for instance instead of  $\iota$  either  $\nu$  or  $\epsilon$ . In consequence of this inaccuracy, manuscripts are often quoted for books which are not contained in them, and Mill has been frequently led into error, when he has relied on the readings of Stephens.

There is an important error of the press, relative to 1 John v. 7. which has given rise to a controversy, that is not confined to that text, but has influence on our knowledge of the Codices Stephani in general. Through unpardonable carelessness, the semicircle is there falsely set, so that it has the appearance as if the seven manuscripts

scripts quoted by Stephens, δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ, which were all the manuscripts he had of the first epistle of St. John, omitted merely the words *εν τῷ πνεύματι*, yet the whole passage from *εν τῷ πνεύματι* to *εν τῇ γῇ* is wanting in them all. Le Long having attested in a letter to Martin, printed in the *Journal des Sçavans* Juin 1720, that in these manuscripts, which are still preserved in the royal library in Paris, the whole of the following passage, *εν τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οἱ τοὶ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ*, is wanting, Martin, in the second part of his *Verité du texte*, i Jean v. 7. démontrée par des preuves qui sont au dessus de toute exception, ch. 4, 5, 6. denied that these were the manuscripts, which had been used by Stephens, though generally supposed so. He has likewise taken great pains to convince his readers that Stephens had more than seven manuscripts of the first epistle of St. John; but if we admit what Martin says to be true, it follows that the manuscripts of Stephens were very different from the description which has been given of them by Mill, Le Long, and Wettstein<sup>288</sup>.

This controversy renders it necessary to quote from Stephens's preface to the edition of 1550, the account which he himself has given of them, though it is very imperfect. *Superioribus diebus . . . . Novum Testamentum . . . . cum vetustissimis sexdecim scriptis \* exemplaribus*

\* From the expression *scriptis exemplaribus*, Martin attempted to prove that Stephens had sixteen manuscripts beside the Complutensian Bible, not merely fifteen, as is generally supposed. Now it cannot be denied that, if we abide by this expression alone, the inference deduced by Martin is very natural; but as Stephens explains himself soon after more clearly, it is certain that his *Codex* signifies the Complutensian Bible, and that he had only sixteen copies, inclusive of that Bible; an inaccurate expression therefore cannot be used as an argument in favour of an assertion which contradicts itself. The Greek words of Stephens are *παραλαβόντων ἑκαδὲς ἀντιγραφάς*, which he has too literally expressed in Latin by *scriptis exemplaribus*; but this is not the only instance, where he has betrayed inaccuracy and precipitation, of which we find evident marks in much more important subjects, both in the preface, and among the various readings.

emplaribus quanta maxima potuimus cura et diligentia collatum minore forma excudimus. Idem nunc iterum et tertio cum iisdem collatum majoribus etiam Regiis typis excusum tibi offerimus. . . . in margine interiori varias codicum lectiones addidimus, quarum unicuique numeri Græci nota subjuncta est, quæ nomen <sup>d</sup> exemplaris unde sumta est indicet, aut exemplarium nomina, cum plures sunt numeri. His namque placuit, primo, secundo, ad textum decimum usque, nomina imponere: ut primo <sup>e</sup> Complutensem editionem intelligas, quæ olim ad antiquissima exemplaria fuit excusa, cui certe cum nostris mirus erat in plurimis consensus <sup>f</sup>. Secundo exemplar vetustissimum in Italia ab amicis collatum. Tertio, quarto, quinto, sexto, septimo, octavo, decimo, et quinto decimo, ea quæ ex bibliotheca, Regis <sup>g</sup> habuimus. Cætera sunt ea, quæ undique corrogare licuit.

Now

<sup>d</sup> As Martin grounded a former argument upon an inaccurate expression of Stephens, it is necessary to observe, in the present instance, that nomen cannot be taken in that sense, which would be ascribed to it by a careful writer. For it is natural to suppose, from this passage, that Stephens had given to each manuscript a particular name; but this is far from being true, since their whole titles consist merely in the Greek numbers by which he noted them, and his Latin is here again a too literal translation of what he had expressed better in Greek, τῶν βιβλίων ὀνόματα σημειῖται.

<sup>e</sup> The words primo, secundo, &c. are again the effect of hurry and carelessness, as he ought to have written primum, secundum, or α, β. His meaning is that α denotes the Complutensian Bible, β the manuscript collated in Italy, &c. which he has more clearly expressed in Greek. Το δὲ α βιβλίον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Σπανίᾳ τυπωθεὶς κατὰ τινὰ ἀντιγραφοῦ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων καὶ ἀκριβεστάτων, ὅπερ τοῖς ἡμετέροις κατὰ πολλὰ συμφωνεῖν εὐρομεν. Το δὲ β' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντιβληθεὶς φίλων. Το δὲ γ', δ', ε', ζ', η', ι', ιι', ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑρρίκου μεγαλοπρεπείας βιβλιοθήκης λαμβάνοντα ἀντιγραφοῦ ἐστὶ.

<sup>f</sup> The reader will here observe that more is expressed in the Latin than in the Greek, which is to be attributed to the same cause, as the impropriety of the other translations.

<sup>g</sup> The name Henrici is expressed in the Greek; but its omission in the Latin has furnished Martin with an opportunity of ob-

jecting

Now this is a very inaccurate and imperfect description; for he has omitted to mention where nearly the half of his manuscripts were preserved, and with regard to the *Codices Regii*, he has given no mark of distinction, by which a subsequent critic could again discover or ascertain them in the royal library, with any precision. I will not mention the inexcusable fault, that no notice was taken of the antiquity of any one of these manuscripts, since the editor has not even related the books, which they contain. It seems as if the learned Robert Stephens degenerated in this instance to a mere printer, whom pecuniary motives induced to have his edition ready as soon as possible, and who directing his chief attention to the beauty of the types, and the neatness of the impression, neglected the accuracy of a critic, not expecting so severe an examination before the tribunal of the modern literati. Through hurry the manuscripts were badly described, and the description still worse translated into Latin; through hurry only a part of the readings were printed in the margin, and the most important omitted; and owing to the same haste, the errata in the numbers were corrected with so much carelessness, as would have exposed another printer to the charge only of neglect, but Robert Stephens to that of want of fidelity, as he particularly boasts of the correctness of his impressions.

It appears from the preceding accounts,

a) That Stephens collated only sixteen *Codices*, or at least that he has given no extracts from more than sixteen.

b) His Codex *a* is the *Biblia Complutensia*.

c) Therefore properly speaking, he had only fifteen written copies, and Martin was mistaken in augmenting their number to sixteen. For since the *Complutensian Bible* is noted Codex *a*, he must have reckoned as far as seventeen, if he had sixteen copies, beside that Bible; but he has neither mentioned in his preface, nor any where

jecting to Le Long, that he quoted manuscripts given by Henry II. whereas those of Stephens must have been given by Francis I.

where quoted among the various readings a Codex 17, or 17. Martin appeals <sup>b</sup> to Beza, who in the preface to his edition of the New Testament, printed in 1582, 1589, and 1598, speaks of seventeen Codices Stephani, whence he argues that Stephens must have had sixteen written copies, beside the Complutensian Bible. But Beza, who had in the two preceding editions spoken of twenty-five Codices Stephani, and gives a very careless and false account of them <sup>c</sup>, can hardly be admitted as an authentic interpreter of the words of Stephens.

d) The above-mentioned Codices Stephani were used for the text of the two first editions, printed in 1546 and 1549.

e) Eight of these manuscripts, namely 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, were in the royal library in Paris.

Now these eight manuscripts have been sought there, and discovered by Le Long. His manner of proceeding he has described in a letter to Martin, which is printed in the *Journal des Sçavans*, Juin 1720, p. 643. He selected, from the readings of each manuscript quoted by Stephens, four, which were peculiar to each respective manuscript: he then sought these characteristic readings among the manuscripts, which had been in the library from the time of Henry II. and consequently might have been used by Robert Stephens. These were easily distinguished by the H with a crown over it; they were eleven in number, eight of which were discovered to be the Codices Stephani, as the characteristic readings above-mentioned were found in them, and in no other manuscript in the whole library. This was an easy and sure method, as it was necessary to examine only eleven manuscripts; but if we had to search among all the known manuscripts, it would be difficult to ascertain them, even if the data amounted to an hundred lectiones singulares <sup>289</sup>.

Though Le Long expressed himself with the utmost clearness and precision, yet he was misunderstood by Martin, whose adversaries were guilty of no injustice, in assert,

<sup>b</sup> *La Verité du Texte*, 1 Jean v. 7. demontree, Tom. II. ch. iv. p. 147.

<sup>c</sup> See Wetstein's *Prolegomena* to the first volume of his *Greek Testament*, p. 148.

asserting that he had a very weak understanding. For he fancied in his *Verité du texte*, 1 Jean v. 7. démontrée, p. 182—190. that the Codices Stephani were marked in the royal library with the letters γ, δ, ε, &c. and by these means were discovered by Le Long: he conjectured also that these marks were made by an impostor. It never occurred to him, that, if the eight manuscripts meant by Le Long were not those which were used by Stephens, the ancient Codices Stephani must have been stolen or removed from the royal library, because no other manuscripts of Henry II. are now discoverable, which could possibly have been used by Stephens<sup>90</sup>.

But Martin made other objections to Le Long's discovery. He says that Stephens's manuscripts were not from the library of Henry II. but Francis I. because they were used for the first edition, which was published in 1546, during the life of Francis. Now this objection is of no weight, if, during the reign of Henry, the manuscripts of the royal library were marked with a crowned H, whether they were purchased by him, or by Francis I. On this head Le Long should have expressed himself more clearly, as it relates to a point of history that is not easy to be explained, except by one who is resident in Paris. I requested therefore Fleischer, during his stay in that city to examine the subject more minutely, who, in a letter dated December 16, 1764, wrote as follows: 'I have observed that the Codex 2867, or Stephani Codex γ, is marked not with a crowned H, but with a crowned F. It is at the same time to be remarked, that a crowned H on a manuscript is no proof that it was not in the royal library in the time of Francis I. For the manuscripts, as well as the printed books, are bound anew, as soon as the old binding is worn out, and on the new binding is marked the name of the king, who reigned at that time. And at this very day a crowned L is very frequently impressed on ancient books, whenever they are new bound.'

His second objection, p. 182. that Le Long found in



the royal library the fifteen manuscripts of Stephens marked with the letters,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ , &c. though only eight had been borrowed from it, is to be ascribed to the above-mentioned mistake, Martin having imagined, that these Greek characters were on the manuscripts themselves. But whoever reads with impartiality, the *Journal des Sçavans*, p. 650, will perceive that Le Long speaks only of eight manuscripts, which he discovered in the royal library, and that the letters  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , &c. as far as  $\iota$ , are simply those adopted by Stephens, and that they have no reference to the royal library<sup>291</sup>.

I pass over the objection, that in the margin of Stephens's Greek Testament it frequently happens, that a manuscript is quoted in favour of a reading, which is not found in the manuscript produced by Le Long as the very same. For these quotations are to be ascribed to the errors of the press, of which there is a remarkable instance 1 John v. 7, where a mark of omission, falsely set, furnished Martin with an opportunity of objecting to Le Long, that the manuscripts which he had discovered could not be the same as those of Stephens, because they omit more, than is marked in Stephens's text. But Le Long himself, through an inaccuracy in his description, supplied Martin with a pretext of making an important objection, though the latter, by an additional mistake, has ruined two-thirds of his own argument. He says, that according to Le Long's account, none of the eight manuscripts in the royal library, contain the Revelation, whereas Stephens has quoted in this book the Codices  $\iota\alpha$ ,  $\iota\epsilon$ , and  $\iota\zeta$ . Now the first and last of these three manuscripts have no relation to the present inquiry, for Le Long never pretended that they were in the royal library. But his imperfect description of the second, which, according to his account, contains sept *epitres de St. Paul, qui commencent par la premiere aux Corinthiens* leads naturally to the supposition, that the Codex  $\iota\epsilon$  has not the Revelation, whereas Stephens very frequently quotes it in that book. It appears, however, from

from the more accurate examination of Wettstein, that the Revelation is really contained in the manuscript in question. See N<sup>o</sup>. 214, where I have given a description of it.

The most extraordinary objection of Martin, and that which most favours of partiality, is the following: "Among the manuscripts produced by Le Long as the very same which Stephens had used, there is not one that has the text 1 John v. 7. But as this text is found in all Stephens's editions; and in the preface to the first which was printed in 1546, he testifies himself, that he set not a single letter that was not warranted by the most and best manuscripts<sup>k</sup>, we must conclude, either that these were not the manuscripts, which were used by Stephens, or that Stephens acted not like an honest man<sup>l</sup>." Now the latter will not appear extraordinary to any one who knows, that he was burnt in effigy at Paris for a breach of honesty, though Martin has styled him, un homme d'une reputation, d'honneur, et de probité. But Stephens, if he had never been guilty of theft, might, in an hastily-written preface, have asserted a falsehood, because, like an hundred other literati, he recollected not, at the time, that he did transgress the bounds of truth. This at least is certain, that in places, where he had less temptation to interpolate, than in the celebrated passage above-mentioned, he has inserted words in the text, which are warranted by no manuscript. We may even produce him as evidence against himself; Rev. vii. 5, 6, 7, 8. both in the first and third editions of his Greek Testament, (I make no mention of the second, because I have it not in my possession)

<sup>k</sup> Ex iis ita hunc nostrum (codicem) recensuimus, ut nullam omnino literam secus esse pateremur, quam plures iique meliores libri tanquam testes comprobarent.

<sup>l</sup> Ou R. Estienne a eu des Manuscrits, dans lesquels il a trouvé le texte de St. Jean, qu'il a mis dans quatre éditions consecutives, ou il n'en a eu point; s'il n'en a point eu, Estienne a été un fourbe, un homme digne du dernier mepris, un infame, p. 156.

sion) he has inserted in all these verses, *εσφραγισμένοι* after *β' χιλιάδες*, though in the margin of the edition of 1550, he himself testifies, that the word *εσφραγισμένοι* was contained in none of his manuscripts, from *φωλης* *αυτου*, v. 5. to the end. He expresses himself as follows, *αυτου, ατε ενταυθα, ατε εν τοις εξης γεγραπται το 'Εσφραγισμένοι εν τοις ημετεροις αντιγραφοις*. Nor is it found in the Complutensian Bible, his Codex *α*, and yet he presumed to obtrude it on the text. A man who acts in this manner, would surely make no scruple to interpolate 1 John v. 7. which is actually in the Complutensian Bible, though he found it in none of his manuscripts: especially as the omission of this passage had brought so much persecution upon Erasmus; and Stephens, as being a bookseller, of course avoided whatever might prevent the sale of his publication. The conclusion therefore is wholly ungrounded, that the manuscripts produced by Le Long, were not the same as those which had been used by Stephens, because they contain not 1 John v. 7. and the argument of Martin is not far removed from a *petitio principii*.

As a knowledge of the Codices Stephani is of real importance, the edition of his Greek Testament of 1550, is in the hands of few, and Martin's objections have never been examined with sufficient coolness, I thought it a duty, which I owed the reader, to represent the real state of this controversy. Men of real learning have been guilty of mistakes in regard to these manuscripts, and those, who are not in possession of Stephens's editions, might otherwise be led into error by Martin's arguments, to which it is unbecoming a critic to reply with mere ridicule.

We may assert therefore, that the eight manuscripts quoted by Stephens, as borrowed from the royal library in Paris, are still preserved there; and that they are the same as the following, which I have above described under the Codices Regii, namely:

Codex $\gamma$	-	-	-	-	-	-	N°. 212
$\delta$	-	-	-	-	-	-	216
$\epsilon$	-	-	-	-	-	-	220
$\varsigma$	-	-	-	-	-	-	211
$\zeta$	-	-	-	-	-	-	201
$\eta$	-	-	-	-	-	-	207
$\iota$	-	-	-	-	-	-	215
$\kappa$	-	-	-	-	-	-	214



Of the remaining codices Stephani, we have the good fortune to have discovered the following:

$\alpha$ , according to Stephens's own account, denotes not a written codex, but the Complutensian Bible.

$\beta$  is probably the Codex Cantabrigiensis, described above, N°. 59.

$\theta$ , according to Wettstein, is the Coislinianus 200, described N°. 77.

$\beta$ , according to Wettstein, is the Codex Regius 2862, described N°. 208.

$\delta$ , according to Wettstein, is the Codex Regius 2865, described N°. 210, but, according to Griesbach, it is the Codex 774, in the Library of Saint Victor, which I shall describe N°. 236. I am of the same opinion with Griesbach.

With respect to the two last, we have no reason to be perplexed at the question which Martin proposed to Le Long; "How is it possible that manuscripts could be found in the royal library which Stephens did not enumerate among the eight." For, though they are at present in the royal library, they might at that time have been in the hands of private persons: the Codex 2862, was formerly the property of Petrus Stella, of whom Stephens probably borrowed it; and the Codex 2865, was deposited in the royal library so late as the present century, having been before in the possession of Tellier.

I have affixed no number to the preceding manuscripts, because they have been already enumerated and described. But I shall number the four following, because three of them remain undiscovered, and therefore

fore undescribed, and the fourth, which is the Codex *ad*, was not known till discovered by Griesbach.

234. Stephani *ia*, noted 10, in the second part of Wettstein's N. T. in the third 8, contained, undoubtedly, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, for in these books it is quoted by Stephens nearly 400 times, as we are assured by Mill. Whether it contained more books of the New Testament, I am unable to determine. Mill supposed, that it had likewise a fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel, and a leaf of St. John's Gospel, because Stephens has quoted it, Matth. x. 8. 10. xii. 32. John ii. 17. but in no other passage of the four Gospels. Wettstein, on the contrary, denies that it contained any such fragments, and the question can be determined with no certainty, till the manuscript itself be discovered, for these four quotations are very possibly errata, and different manuscripts may be meant where we find *ia* in the margin of his Greek Testament<sup>m</sup>. On the other hand, it is possible that the Codex *ia*, contained the four Gospels complete, and that the fewness of the extracts is to be ascribed either to the negligence of the collation, or the neglect to print the whole of the extracts which the younger Stephens had made, of which we find an instance in the manuscript described N°. 207.

Stephens has once quoted this manuscript in the Revelation, for the reading *προσεκυνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ*, in the dative, ch. xiii. 4. but I would rather subscribe to Mill's opinion, and believe this to be an error of the press, than conclude with Martin, that the manuscript contained the Revelation, and therefore the whole of the New Testament, which is found complete in very few manuscripts. Estius and Mill were of opinion, that this manuscript latinized, and Wettstein supposed it to be  
one

<sup>m</sup> This is very probably the case John ii. 17. where Stephens quotes the following manuscripts, γ, δ, ε, ς, ζ, η, ια, ιβ, ιγ, for *καταφάγεται*; but as this reading is in the Complutensian Bible, he ought to have quoted Codex *δ*, and it is highly probable that *ια* is an error either of the writer or the printer, for *δ*. The three other readings of this passage are likewise found in the Complutensian Bible, for which Stephens has quoted *δ*, as well as *ια*.

one of those, which Colinæus used for his edition of the Greek Testament.

As Wetstein has neither collated, nor even seen this manuscript, it is extraordinary that he should quote it, 1 Cor. xv. 44. where Stephens has no reference to this, but quotes his Codex  $\beta$ . Is this an error of the press, arising from Wetstein's inattention, in addition to what proceeded from the neglect of Stephens? If this be true, how inaccurate are two critics, who so much boasted of correctness, and how great is the necessity of new editions.

235. Stephani  $\gamma$ , noted 11 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 9, contains the Acts and the Epistles, in which Le Long, in the above-quoted passage of the Journal des Sçavans, supposes, that the third of St. John and that of St. Jude are wanting. But as he neither did, nor could find this manuscript in the royal library, since Stephens quotes it as not being a Codex Regius, the conjecture is founded merely on the circumstance, that Stephens has never quoted his Codex  $\gamma$  in those two epistles. Mill has remarked, that in the Acts it harmonizes seldom, but in the epistles frequently, with the Vulgate.

236. Stephani  $\delta$ , in the library of St. Victor Codex 774, noted 12 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., though he is very confused in regard to this manuscript, and in Griesbach Codex 120. The last mentioned critic, who has described it in his Symbolæ, p. cl—clii. and refers it to the thirteenth century, is the first who has given a clear account of it. It contained originally the four Gospels, but the leaves, on which that of St. Mark was written, are lost, and there remains only the picture of the Evangelist, immediately after which follows the Gospel of St. Luke, without a picture of that Evangelist. The first leaf of St. John's Gospel is also wanting. These are evident tokens of its being Stephani Codex  $\delta$ , not to mention the similarity of the readings, for Stephens has never quoted his  $\delta$  in the Gospel of St. Mark. Mill conjectures that it contained likewise a

leaf of the Acts, and also of 2 Pet. i. because Stephens, Acts x. 6. quotes  $\iota\gamma$ ,  $\iota\gamma$ , which is perhaps an erratum, for  $\iota\gamma$ ,  $\iota\delta$ , and 2 Pet. i. 4. again quotes  $\iota\delta$ . In the first, Mill has undoubtedly ventured a false conjecture, and the second must be an error of the press, because Griesbach could discover no such fragment in this manuscript, though he found in it some leaves of an Evangelium, p. 73—80, and 89—109. Wetstein found in De Missy's library, extracts from this manuscript, under the title Victorianus, which he very unfortunately united into one mass, not only with Küster's extracts from his Parisinus 5, described above N°. 210, supposing them to be one and the same, but also with extracts from another manuscript, so that the readings quoted in Wetstein's edition, from the Codex 12, are of no value. Griesbach has given very accurate extracts from it, under the title Codex 120. It harmonizes with the Regius 2244, described above N°. 204, with the Regius 2865, described N°. 210, and with the edition of Colinæus.

237. Stephani 15, noted 3 in the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T. All that we can affirm with certainty of this manuscript is, that it contained the book of Revelation, in which Stephens very frequently quotes it as far as the middle of the book, and a chapter or two further: but toward the end, these frequent references cease, for after ch. xvii. 8. where he has quoted  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ , as far as ch. xx. 3, it is not once mentioned, and from this verse, where  $\epsilon\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  is quoted for  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , no notice is taken of it to the end of the book. These omissions may be ascribed either to chasms in the manuscript, or to the neglect of the editor. Le Long has very falsely described this manuscript, having attributed to it les Evangiles de St. Luc, et de St. Jean; but he makes no mention of the Revelation, which gave his adversary Martin, for whom he attempted to solve difficulties, an opportunity of raising new objections.

Whether this manuscript, which is quoted Luke xxii. 30, 67. 2 Cor. xii. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 3, contained the whole of the New Testament, and whether the infrequency of the

the quotations is to be ascribed to the neglect of Stephens; whether it contained only single leaves of St. Luke's Gospel, and the Epistles; or lastly, whether these three quotations are mere errata, can never be determined till we have discovered the manuscript itself.

The long and tedious description, that has here been given of the Codices Stephani, which to many readers will appear superfluous, though others will consider it as indispensably necessary, might have been avoided, if Stephens himself had taken the pains, to give an accurate description of his manuscripts. Instead of doubt, we should then have certainty, and the numerous controversies would have been avoided, relative to the readings of these manuscripts; which, in reference to the single text 1 John v. 7. have filled as many sheets, as compose his large and splendid edition of the Greek Testament. These are inconveniencies to which posterity is unavoidably exposed, when a critic, through hurry or neglect, leaves his labours incomplete.

238—242. Codices Thomæ Heracleensis. I have mentioned above, ch. vii. sect. 11. that Thomas of Heraclea, in the beginning of the sixth century<sup>291</sup>, published a new and corrected edition of the second Syriac version, which is commonly called the Philoxenian. For that purpose he made use of several Greek manuscripts, preserved at that time in the monastery of St. Antony, at Alexandria, and added their readings to the Syriac text. A complete description of them may be seen in Ridley's *Dissertatio de Syriacarum. N. T. versionum indole atque usu*, sect. 11. and 13. He has added a copper-plate representing the Syriac text with the Greek readings.

It appears from this dissertation, that Thomas, according to his own subscription<sup>292</sup>, collated for the Gospels two, or as it stands in other copies of this edition, three manuscripts. In the Acts of the Apostles and the catholic epistles, he had only one manuscript: in the epistles of St. Paul, at least two, as appears from the marginal note to Phil. iii. 18. but whether the number



ber was confined to two only, Ridley is unable to determine, because the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, and with it the subscription of the editor, is wanting. They amount therefore, on the whole, at least to five<sup>293</sup>. This same edition was again collated by Barfalibæus, in the twelfth century, with four manuscripts<sup>294</sup>. but they belong not to the present chapter, because they were probably Syriac.

As the four Gospels of this version have appeared in print, for which we are indebted to Professor White, I am able to describe them more particularly, which I ought not to neglect, as it may spare my readers some trouble in the use of this publication. Most of the Greek words; which are written in the margin, are not various readings, but express only in Greek characters the word translated or adopted in the Syriac, whether a proper name or an appellative, which appeared of importance to the translator or the editor, who was extremely partial to the Greek. These Greek words are sometimes in Ridley's manuscript very unorthographically written, the most frequent errors being such as arise from the Itacism; in other manuscripts are found still greater errors, the copyists, though acquainted with Syriac, being ignorant of Greek°. The few following examples may serve as a specimen of these Greek notes, John i. 42. to ܠܚܝܬܐ in the margin *τον μεσιαν*, v. 43. to ܠܚܐ, *κηφας*. ii. 6. to ܠܚܐ, *υδραι*, and to ܠܕܐ *ανα μετρητας*. v. 8. *αρχιτρικλινω*. 17. *εμπορειε*. iii. 1. *νικοδημος* and *αρχον*<sup>295</sup>.

The various readings, on the contrary, are generally expressed in Syriac, but they have not always reference to the collated Greek manuscripts, but sometimes denote<sup>297</sup>,

i. The reading of the old Syriac version, though at the same time it might be the intention of the editor to signify, that it was also the reading of one of the Greek  
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• See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 164—168, and Vol. XVII. p. 126—133<sup>295</sup>.

Alexandrine manuscripts. For instance John i. 18. ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܠܗܐ ܐܝܠܗܐ, unigenitus deus, a reading which might have stood in the MSS. used by Thomas, though I will not positively affirm it<sup>298</sup>. Ch. iii. 5. after ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, respondit Jesus, is added the marginal reading ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, et dixit ei<sup>299</sup>. iv. 47. is the marginal reading ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ proximus erat, which is in the text of the Peshito, the reading of the text of the Philoxenian being ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ futurus erat, In this last example, the reading only of the old Syriac version could be meant, as it is difficult to comprehend how ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, the Greek reading, could be otherwise expressed. In collecting, therefore, readings from the Syriac marginal notes of the Philoxenian version, we must not always conclude that they were taken from the collated Greek manuscripts.

2. Some peculiarity in the New Syriac version, or an explanation of some apparent difficulty. For instance, an explanatory note is frequently added where ܐܢܬܐ vita, is used: John i. 4. the text of the Phil. version is ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, in eo vita erat, on which we find the two following marginal notes, ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, and ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, by which the editor intended to signify, that ܐܢܬܐ is expressed in Greek, by ܐܢܬܐ (ܐܢܬܐ) in the singular, and that the plural is ܐܢܬܐ (ܐܢܬܐ), that no one might imagine that the Ribbui, the sign of the plural over ܐܢܬܐ was meant to convey any emphasis, or religious mystery. In like manner, ch. iii. 16. 36. we find again the note ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, singularis est. Ch. i. 52. to ܐܢܬܐ ad, which is in the text of the Philoxenian, as well as in the old Syriac, is added the marginal reading ܐܢܬܐ super, because ܐܢܬܐ is in the Greek. Ch. iii. 32 in the text is ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ where the pronoun feminine is used neutrally, but in the margin is ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, where the pronoun masculine is used, which is nothing more than a different translation of the same Greek expression ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, it being absolutely impossible in this instance, that the readings ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, and ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, could ever have existed.

As Thomas of Heraclea lived between the years 518 and 533<sup>300</sup>, the manuscripts which he used, even if he did

did not endeavour to procure those which were at that time the most ancient, must have surpassed in antiquity the oldest that are now extant, such as the Alexandrine, the Ephrem, and the Cambridge manuscript: but if he selected such as were at that time two or three hundred years old, none of our manuscripts can be put in competition with them. It is true that this high antiquity is no absolute security against false and spurious readings, of which examples may be seen among the extracts which have been made from them: but Wetstein laid to them a charge of a different nature, and contended, that they were interpolated from the Latin, a charge which is wholly incredible, for who could have thus altered Greek manuscripts in the monastery of St. Antony in Alexandria, where Latin was unknown, and where the church of Rome exerted no authority<sup>301</sup>? The Coptic, not the Latin; is the version with which the greatest coincidence might be expected, and this is confirmed by actual experience, but no inference therefore can be drawn to their disparagement, since the Coptic version, being made from Egyptian copies of the Greek Testament, must necessarily agree with Alexandrine manuscripts. Wetstein goes even a step further, and discovers in the present age, in the libraries of Europe, all those manuscripts which Thomas collated at Alexandria, in the sixth century<sup>302</sup>. But, unfortunately, he has discovered a greater number than Thomas actually used, who collated only two, or at the utmost three manuscripts of the Gospels, whereas Wetstein has assigned to him not less than four, the Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, Ephrem, and Stephani<sup>303</sup>.

As the present chapter relates to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and those which were used by Thomas were superior in point of antiquity to any that are now remaining, it is necessary to give a specimen of their readings, which I will not select from detached passages, but to avoid all appearance of partiality, will examine four whole chapters of St. John's Gospel<sup>304</sup>.

Ch. i. 28. for ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ is in the margin ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, to which is added in Greek *εν Βηθαβα, εν Βηανια*. Now this marginal Syriac reading, which, as written in Ridley's manuscript, appears to be an erratum for ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, is the well known alteration of Origen, who corrected *Βηθανια* to *Βηθαβα*, which is found in all our present editions<sup>305</sup>. And it is probable that this reading was soon adopted in the Greek manuscripts of Alexandria, though *Bethania* is the reading both of the old Latin, and of the Vulgate. It may be here remarked, that *Βηθαβα* and *Βηανια*, for *Βηθαβα* and *Βηθανια*, is Syriac pronunciation, for the Syrians pronounced ܠܚܕܐ, as if it were written ܠܚܕܐ<sup>306</sup>. V. 39. for ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, quod dicitur, is the marginal reading ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, quod est, that is, *ο εστι* for *ο λεγεται*, a reading which is found in no Greek manuscript, nor even in the Latin. V. 40. for ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, et venerunt, is in the margin ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, venerunt igitur, that is, *ηλθον εν*, the reading of many Greek manuscripts, and of the Coptic version. It is true that the Latin Codex Vercellensis has likewise this reading, but it cannot be said to be a latinizing reading, as it is not only wanting in other Latin manuscripts, but is found in the Moscow manuscript noted r.

Ch. ii. 1. to the words expressive of Cana in Galilee, is added in the margin the following passage, ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, *ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ*, et vinum non habebant quia defecit vinum convivii, which in that place is unsuitable to the context; and in smaller Syriac characters is a note from a later hand, signifying that this addition is found in other copies of the Philoxenian version<sup>307</sup>, but in no Greek manuscript. Wetstein says, that it is contained in Latin manuscripts, but it may be asked in which<sup>308</sup>? The Ethiopic version has at the end of the verse a similar addition<sup>309</sup>. V. 8. ܠܚܕܐ ܕܚܕܐ, ipsi autem tulerunt, agreeably to the reading of the Coptic version, and of several Greek manuscripts, which have *οι δε ηνεγκαν*, but this reading is neither in the Vulgate, nor in the old Latin. To the Greek MSS. quoted by Wetstein, may be added two Moscow manuscripts, which

no one will suspect of having been corrupted from the Latin. V. 11. is *crediderunt*, for *crediderunt*, et crediderunt, but *πιστευσαν* is in no Greek manuscript. Ver. 15. to *flagellum*, is added the marginal reading *quali*, agreeably to the text of the Vulgate, and of several important Greek manuscripts, which have *ποιησαν ως φραγελλιον*, but it cannot be termed a latinizing reading, because it is found in Origen.

Ch. iii. 6. *quod*, which would be expressed in Greek *ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος*, the reading of no Greek manuscript now extant. V. 8. *quo vadat*, agreeably to the old and new Latin versions, and the Codex Alexandrinus, which has *ἡ πρὸς ὑπαγιν*. This is the first example in favour of Wetstein's accusation. V. 11. is a reading which Wetstein has inverted, ascribing to the margin, what is really in the text; in the latter is *οἶδαμεν*, that is, *αἰσθάνομαι*, which is found in no Greek manuscript, in the former is *οἶδα*, to denote that it ought to be *οἶδαμεν*, the reading of all our manuscripts, and editions. After ver. 36. is added in the margin *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρεδόθη ὁ Ἰωάννης*, which being found in no manuscript, or version, is evidently a scholion, and was probably intended as such.

Ch. iv. 1. in the margin is *Dominus*, for *Iesus*, in the text: the former is the common reading of the Greek manuscripts, which have *κύριος*, but the latter is both in the old and the new Latin version. V. 23. *ἐν πνεύματι τῆς ἀληθείας*, a reading which has no other evidence in its favour, and which Wetstein has omitted. V. 25. *οἶδαμεν*, for which Wetstein quotes six manuscripts, and among them the Codex Stephani, but though he particularly suspected this manuscript, the reading in question could not have been taken from the Latin, because it is found in the Coptic version<sup>310</sup>, and in two Moscow manuscripts quoted by Matthäi, whereas the Codex Brixienfis is the only Latin manuscript, in which it has been discovered. V. 43. *καὶ ἡλθεν*<sup>311</sup>, the reading of

of the Coptic<sup>312</sup>, and of the old Syriac, from which the Philoxenian had deviated in having  $\text{ܠܕܐܝܢܐ}$  V. 45.  $\text{ܕܡܢܐܝܢܐ}$   $\text{ܕܡܢܐܝܢܐ}$ , qui viderant omnia quæ fecerat, which corresponds to the common Greek reading, whereas the text itself of the Philoxenian version has here no word expressive of *varra*.

It is evident from these examples, first, that the manuscripts collated by Thomas had not been altered from the Latin version; secondly, that they were allied to the Coptic version; thirdly, that they were not the four manuscripts, on which Wettstein's conjecture fell, none of which have so many deviations in these few chapters<sup>313</sup>; and fourthly, that one of the manuscripts collated by Thomas, had probably readings of little value.

For the first extracts, that were given of these marginal readings of the Philoxenian version, we are indebted to Wettstein, who quotes them under the title *Versio Syriaca in margine*. He took a journey to England in 1746, in order to collate the manuscript of Ridley, on which he bestowed only fourteen days. It were to be wished that he had employed the interval, which he had confined within too narrow limits, in faithfully transcribing all the readings which had been collated by Thomas; but he appears to have been too sanguine, and too partial to his favourite system. He complains, that after having expected to find the extracts of three or four manuscripts, whose antiquity exceeded a thousand years, which might confirm the genuine readings of the Greek Testament, he met with the mortifying disappointment of discovering only the readings of the Itala, or, which he supposed to be the same thing, those of the Codd. Alex. Cant. Ephr. and Stephani \*.

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\* As it may appear incredible that a critic should write in this manner, I will subjoin Wettstein's own words, taken from p. 112 of his *Prolegomena*. *Erectus fui in spem uno intuitu videndi tres aut quatuor codices Græcos mille annorum ætatem superantes, atque genuinam lectionem asserturos. Quid invenerim paucis exponam.*—*Dici autem non potest quam vehementer percussus, atque ex magna spe deturbatus fuerim, cum viderem plerasque omnes istas variantes lectiones ex versione Itala, hoc est, ut puto, ex ipsis quos supra descripsi, codicibus A. C. D. et L. esse petitas.*

That his extracts are neither complete, nor accurate, appears from the preceding examples, taken from the four first chapters of St. John.

With respect to the Evangelists, we can at present have recourse to the source itself, since Professor White has published Ridley's manuscript, with all the various readings that are written in the margin. And those who wish to have complete information, must have recourse to this work, as extracts have hitherto been given from it in no critical edition of the Greek Testament<sup>14</sup>. But Ridley's manuscript of the Philoxenian version contains not all the various readings of the Greek manuscripts, which were collated by Thomas, as appears from the Roman manuscripts examined by Adler, who found in one of them<sup>15</sup>, Matth. xx. 28. the well known addition in the ninth section of the sixth chapter accompanied with the following important remark: 'In the ancient copies, (viz. of the Syriac) this is usually found only in the fifty-third chapter of St. Luke, but in the Greek MSS. it is in this place also, for which reason it is here added.' More examples of various readings, contained only in the Roman manuscripts may be seen in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 175—178<sup>16</sup>. In short, this is a subject in which we are still in a state of infancy<sup>17</sup>.

243. Tigurinus, noted 56 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, written by Zwingli in 1516, for his own private exercise in the Greek language. Wetstein supposes that it was copied from the first edition of Erasmus. If this opinion be true, I know not why he has quoted the Cod. 56 among the other manuscripts of the Greek Testament: on the other hand, if the opinion be erroneous, it is extraordinary that he has so seldom quoted it<sup>18</sup>.

244. Trin. thus abbreviated and quoted by Mill, is a manuscript belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge<sup>19</sup>: in the third part of Wetstein's N. T. it is *Lecticonarium* 3, with the contents of which I am no further acquainted, than that Mill has given extracts from it in the first epistle of St. Peter, and first epistle of St. John.

245. Trit.

245. Trit. or Trithemii, noted 96 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the Gospel of St. John, written by the celebrated Abbot Trithemius<sup>320</sup>, and at present preserved in the Bodleian. The first extracts from this manuscript were printed in the London Polyglot, whence they have been transmitted into other collections. Griesbach has again collated the third and fourth chapters of St. John: but he relates that it is not free from orthographical errors.

246. Fragmentum Tubingense, noted 98 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., but he gives no account either of its contents, or its collation. Now Bengel quotes Fragmentum vetustissimum in bibliotheca academice Tubingensis on John i. 40. 42. [yet Wettstein, in his list of errata, p. 219. says, Tubingense] lege Turicense, five Tigurinum canticorum Luc. i. et ii. psalterio literis uncialibus scripto adjectorum. This is mere conjecture. At present we have more certain accounts of it, from the following work, written by Professor Reufs, Description of several manuscripts in the University library of Tübingen, 1778<sup>321</sup>. It is nothing more than a single quarto leaf of thick vellum, written on both sides, which a book-binder had placed before the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, and mutilated it in cutting the leaves of the volume. It contains only John i. 38—50. and even in these few verses are chasms, occasioned by the fault of the book-binder.

247—249. The three following manuscripts were originally in Uffenbach's library<sup>322</sup>, but they are differently numbered by Bengel and Wettstein.

Uffenbachianus 1, as noted in the library itself, and as quoted by Bengel, but Wettstein names it Uffenbachianus 2, and notes it in his second part Cod. 53: it is a fragment of the epistle to the Hebrews, consisting only of two leaves, which Bengel styles, 'pervetus,' and Wettstein refers to the eleventh century. In the second volume of the *Commercium epistolicum Uffenbachianum*, frequent mention is made of this manuscript, both by Uffenbach and Maius, who suppose it to be



still more ancient. It has a chasm from ch. iv. 3. to xii. 20. and I am not certain whether the three first chapters are complete. It has been collated by Bengel and Wetstein. This is the only manuscript which has *χωρις δε*, Heb. ii. 9. a reading which was common even in the time of Origen, and which makes a total alteration in the sense. This circumstance makes it of importance.

Uffenbachianus 2, as noted by Bengel, but named by Wetstein Uffenbachianus 1; it is noted in the second part of his Greek Testament Cod. 52, in the third 45, in the fourth 16; and contains the catholic epistles, the Revelation of St. John, the epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles. This manuscript has been likewise collated both by Bengel and Wetstein, and the former has observed that it harmonizes with the Covel. 2, described N° 106. Wetstein calls it *Codex admodum interpolatus*. It is the only manuscript which has *περι υμων*, Ephes. vi. 22. which affords an excellent meaning, if the preceding verb be divided, namely *γνωτε* into *γνωτε*, and we read *να γνωτε περι υμων* <sup>323</sup>.

Uffenbachianus 3, noted 101 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a very modern manuscript of the Gospel of St. John, which Bengel supposed to have been copied from a Basel edition, and has therefore seldom quoted. The extracts, which were made from it by Maius, have been communicated by Professor Schultz, and printed in the second volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* N° 34. It appears also from the account which he has given of it, that it was written by one Nicolaus, a monk of the monastery of Hirsau, in the year 1500 <sup>324</sup>.

249. *Bibliothecæ S. Victoris Parisiis*, num. 774, noted by Griesbach Cod. 120, has been described above, N° 236, under the title *Cod. Stephani* <sup>325</sup>.

250. *Usserii* 1, noted 63, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels. In the Oxford edition of Bishop Fell, are found extracts from this manuscript in St. Luke and St. John, but Mill has inserted in his edition extracts from all the four Gospels, which he had procured from Richard Bulkely.

251. *Usserii*

251. Ufferii 2, noted in the London Polyglot Em. and in the first part of Wettstein's N. T. Cod. 64, is a neat copy of the four Gospels. Extracts were first given from it in the London Polyglot, where it was noted Em. as making probably the first part of a manuscript belonging to Emanuel College, which I have described above, N° 61. More complete extracts were communicated to Mill by Bulkely<sup>126</sup>.

252. Codices Laurentii Vallæ, noted 82 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., in the second 51, in the third 44, in the fourth 5.

Laurentius Valla<sup>127</sup> has written remarks on the Latin New Testament, in which he generally censures the Latin version, and observes that this, or that reading is different in the Greek. This work, which for the time when it was written, as criticism was at that time in its infancy, has great merit, was discovered in a library by Erasmus, who under the patronage of Christopher Fisher, protonotary to the Pope, published it in 1505, under the following title, *Laurentii Vallenſis viri tam græcæ quam latinæ linguæ peritiſſimi in latinam N. T. interpretationem ex collatione Græcorum exemplarium adnotationes apprimæ utiles*. The opinion of Valla is at present of little importance: he engaged in a branch of literature which was entirely new, and of which he perceived not the full extent: he imagined therefore that what he found in a few Greek manuscripts, was contained in all, and, if the Latin was different, that it should be condemned without a further hearing. Not all the censures, which are in Mill's Prolegomena, §1086, 1087, appear to be grounded, and I would rather retain *Matth. v. 22.* with Valla, than reject it in conformity to Mill<sup>128</sup>. But without entering further into this inquiry, let us examine matters of fact, and consider the readings, which he actually found in his manuscripts.

These he has no where circumstantially described, but agreeably to the usual practice of the learned, when criticism was in its childhood, proceeds immediately to

collate the Latin text, with manuscripts unknown to his readers. We are ignorant therefore of the number which he used, of the books which they contained, of the age in which they were written, of the library where he found them, and of the place where they have been since preserved. It is therefore not impossible that we often quote Valla for a reading, which we had before quoted from another manuscript, and produce therefore the same evidence twice, under different names. He collated, and quoted, not only Greek, but Latin manuscripts. As it is probable that they are still extant, and that a part of them at least has been consulted, and quoted under different names, a further description would be unnecessary, had not the controversy, relative to the celebrated passage, 1 John v. 7. occasioned a more minute examination of various manuscripts, and among them those of Laurentius Valla, which have afforded subject of dispute, in regard to their number and contents.

Valla himself says on Matth. xxvii. 12. *tres codices Latinos, et totidem Græcos habeo, cum hæc compono, et nonnunquam alios codices consulo.* Now we have no reason to suppose that these included more than the Gospels, of which he had three Greek manuscripts in his possession, but they hardly included the whole New Testament. Nor is this account contradicted by what he writes on John vii. 29. ‘*quærebant eum apprehendere.*’ *Septem Græca exemplaria legi, quorum in singulis ita scriptum est, ‘ego scio eum, quia ab ipso sum et ille me misit. Quærebant igitur eum apprehendere.’ Cætera verba abiunt, neque a Græcis exemplaribus tantum, sed etiam a plerisque latinorum.* For though Valla had only three copies of the Gospels in his own possession, he might on this passage have consulted seven, in which the clause, ‘*et si dixero, quia nescio eum, ero similis vobis mendax,*’ which is added in several Latin manuscripts, was not contained. Wetstein therefore had no reason to assert that Valla wrote, ‘*græca*’ by mistake for ‘*latina exemplaria,*’ since Valla clearly distinguishes the Latin from the seven Greek manuscripts;  
nor

nor on the other hand was Martin, with other advocates for 1 John v. 7. justified in contending that these seven Greek manuscripts comprehended the whole of the New Testament. The number of manuscripts, which Valla used of the first epistle of St. John, is not to be determined by the number of those which he had of the Gospels: the conclusions therefore of both Emlyn and Martin were ungrounded.

Though the manuscripts of Valla are not known to us by name, it is highly probable that many of them have been again collated in modern times. There is no reason therefore to suppose that they contained readings, that are found in no manuscript with which we are at present acquainted, and least of all that they had the celebrated passage in the first epistle of St. John, which in so many manuscripts has been sought in vain. But the advocates for this passage have contended, that it could not have been wanting in Valla's manuscripts, because he has not remarked its absence from the Greek: a very precarious inference, since it might either have been wanting in the Latin copy, with which he made the collation, or he might studiously have avoided a remark on so delicate and controverted a subject, which is the more credible, as on other accounts he had been greatly exposed to persecution. This at least is certain, that from this silence alone we can draw no positive conclusion. This circumstance it would have been unnecessary to mention, if the name of Valla had not been so frequently introduced in the controversy relative to the above-mentioned passage.

As it is probable that the Codices Vallæ have not only been quoted in later ages under different titles, but that they contain the same readings with the Codices Barberini, and other collections of that nature, they are at present of little importance, except in the book of Revelation, of which the number of manuscripts is so few, that the extracts of Valla are a useful accession.

253. Vaticanus, noted B in the three first parts of Wettstein's N. T. Though there are many manuscripts

of the New Testament in the Vatican, several of which are described in *Blanchini Evangelarium quadruplex*, yet that which is noted in the Vatican library 1209, and from which the Septuagint was printed in the year 1587, by order of Sixtus V. is called in general *Codex Vaticanus*, without any further mark of distinction.

This manuscript contained originally the whole Greek Bible, including both the Old and New Testament, and in this respect, as well as in regard to its antiquity, it resembles none so much as the *Codex Alexandrinus*, but no two manuscripts are more dissimilar in their readings, at least in the Old Testament <sup>329</sup>. After the Gospels, which are placed in the usual order, come the Acts of the Apostles, which are immediately followed by the seven catholic epistles: this must be particularly noted, because some have contended that the second epistle of St. Peter, with the second and third of St. John, were wanting. Professor Hwiid, in a letter dated Rome, April 12, 1781, assured me that he had seen them with his own eyes, that the second epistle of St. Peter is placed fol. 1434, the second of St. John fol. 1442, the third fol. 1443: then follow the epistles of St. Paul, but not in the usual order. For the epistle to the Hebrews is placed immediately after those to the Thessalonians; and it is not improbable, that in the more ancient manuscript, from which the *Cod. Vat.* was copied, this epistle was even placed before that to the Ephesians, and immediately after the epistle to the Galatians<sup>3</sup>. For the epistles of St. Paul are divided into 93 sections: by figures written in the margin with red ink, but the epistle to the Galatians ends with 59, and that to the Ephesians begins with 70, the epistle to the Hebrews, on the contrary, begins 60, and ends with 69<sup>330</sup>. With the words *ἀμωμον τῷ Θεῷ*, Heb. ix. 14. the manuscript ceases, the remaining leaves being lost. There is wanting therefore not only the latter part of this epistle, but the epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, with the Revelation of St. John: but  
this

<sup>3</sup> Probably because the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as the epistle to the Galatians, relates to the abolition of the Mosaic law.

this last book, as well as the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, has been supplied by a modern hand in the 15th century <sup>331</sup>. In many places the faded letters have been also retouched by a modern, but careful hand; and when the person, who made these amendments, who appears to have been a man of learning, found a reading in his own manuscript, which differed from that of the Codex Vaticanus, he has noted it in the margin, and has generally left the text itself untouched, though in some few examples he has ventured to erase <sup>332</sup>. Beside Mill and Wettstein, to whose Prolegomena I at all times tacitly refer, the reader may consult Pfaff de variis N. T. lectionibus, cap. iii. p. 53. ; Hichtel's Exercitatio critica de antiquitate et præstantia codicis Romani præ Alexandrino, Jenæ 1734; and particularly the valuable accounts which have been given us by Professor Birch, which he has communicated as an eye-witness, and accurate collator of this manuscript, and which I have printed in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. N° 351. He has given still further accounts, in his Description of Greek manuscripts of the New Testament <sup>333</sup>, published at Copenhagen in 1785, but as this work is unintelligible to those readers who are unacquainted with Danish, I hope he will deliver the same accounts in Latin, in his Prolegomena to the Greek Testament <sup>334</sup>. To this learned critic must be added Blanchini, who likewise speaks as a sagacious and faithful eye-witness, and has given extracts from the manuscript, and a fac simile of its characters, in the Evangelium quadruplex, P. I. p. 493—496 <sup>335</sup>. Wettstein had not seen this publication when he printed his Prolegomena, he could therefore derive no advantage from this valuable work. If the reader thinks it worth the while to peruse a confutation of the falsehoods advanced by the celebrated, but ignorant vaunter, Amelotte, who asserted that the Codex Vaticanus contained 1 John v. 7. he may consult the letters which De Missy, published in the Journal Britannique for the latter part of the year 1752, and the beginning of 1753.

It is certain that this manuscript is of very high antiquity,

tiquity, though it has been disputed which of the two is in this respect entitled to the preference, the Vaticanus, or Alexandrinus. As I have never seen it, I am unable to take upon me the office of a judge; but those who have seen, and examined the Vatican manuscript, ascribe to it a greater antiquity than to the Alexandrine. The characters of both manuscripts resemble each other, except that in the Cod. Alex. they are more elegantly formed<sup>316</sup>. In the preface to the Roman edition of the Septuagint, printed in 1587, the editors even at that time ascribed to the Vatican manuscript an antiquity of 1200 years: they referred it therefore to the fourth century, a period to which the advocates for its great rival refer the Codex Alexandrinus. The arguments, which have been advanced by Hichtel, though they are not convincing, are the following.

a) 'The great similarity of its characters to those on the monument or pillar of Hippolytus', which as he died in the third century, must have been erected in that age.'

How great this resemblance is, I am unable to determine. Hichtel has not represented it to the eye, but appeals to Emanuel Schelstraten, who again has left no written evidence on this subject, and all that we know of it is from Burnet's letters, from which it appears, that Schelstraten compared the letters of the Vatican manuscript, with those on the monument of Hippolytus, and declared that they greatly resembled each other. But if we admit that the similarity is as great as is contended, the criterion is insufficient to determine the particular century, and shews only in general that the manuscript is very ancient<sup>317</sup>.

b) 'The Gospels are not divided in reference to the canons of Eusebius, but simply by red figures, written in the margin. The epistles of St. Paul are written without

<sup>316</sup> The inscription of this monument may be seen in Gruteri corpus inscriptionum, fol. 140, 141. but as it is printed in common Greek characters, and is not a fac simile of the original, we are unable to judge of the degree of resemblance between the characters themselves.

without any separation, in one continued series, and are divided into 93 sections. The epistle to the Hebrews is placed before those which are called *epistolæ pastorales*, an arrangement usual in the time of Eusebius, that is, in the fourth century. Vid. Epiphan. *Hæres.*

42.

Now this arrangement might have been retained by a later copyist, who preserved the order which he found in the ancient manuscript, from which he transcribed<sup>338</sup>: for the figures, which are found in the epistle to the Hebrews, cannot be ascribed to the writer of the Vatican manuscript, but have been taken from the more ancient copy, the numbers of which were followed, though the arrangement of the epistles themselves was neglected\*. After all, this argument of Hichtel applies rather to the country, or the edition of the manuscript, than to the period in which it was written.

More moderate, and perhaps more accurate, are the sentiments of that great judge of antiquity Montfaucon, who in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, p. 3. refers the Cod. Vat. to the fifth, or sixth century, and adds that, though he had seen other manuscripts of equal antiquity, he had found none at the same time so complete. Blanchini is of the same opinion, for he has written over the fac simile, '*scriptus videtur ineunte sæculo quinto*:' and to this opinion we are warranted, by the formation of the letters, to assent.

So far in regard to the antiquity of this manuscript. With respect to its internal excellence<sup>339</sup>, I prefer it to the Codex Alexandrinus, and shall continue to do so, till I am convinced that this preference is unjust. The text

\* The opinion which Hichtel advances, § 20. that at least some of the Gospels, or epistles in the Vatican MS. were copied immediately from the Autographs, or the originals themselves, will be hardly received by any one, who is acquainted with the subject. It is evident from the numbers written in the margin, which in the epistle to the Hebrews correspond not to the arrangement of the epistles themselves, that the Cod. Vat. is a copy of a more ancient manuscript, which contained not single Gospels, or epistles, but the whole canon divided into sections. It could therefore have been no autograph.



text of the Septuagint is undoubtedly much purer in the Vatican, than in the Alexandrine manuscript, and in the New Testament, charges which have been justly laid to the latter<sup>340</sup>, have never been proved against the former. It is true that accusations have not been wanting: Mill and Grabe contended that it latinized, but this has never been confirmed by any solid argument, for its agreement in many readings with the old Latin versions, is no proof of its having been corrupted from them.

Wetstein has brought several arguments against the purity of the Cod. Vaticanus. He appeals to Erasmus, who condemns many of its readings as latinizing. But the bare assertion of Erasmus, without proof, is not to be admitted, especially as he lived in an age when criticism was in its infancy, and has too frequently determined in favour of those readings, which are found only in the most modern manuscripts. But what Erasmus has said of a latinizing Vatican manuscript, is improperly applied to the manuscript in question<sup>†</sup>, unless Erasmus

<sup>†</sup> Erasmus, in the preface to his last edition of the Greek Testament, has a passage, which is generally supposed to relate to the Codex Vaticanus. He first asserts that a manuscript preserved in the Vatican, and written in capital letters, has been altered from the Latin after the Florentine council, which was held in order to form a junction between the Greek and Latin churches: but he speaks of it merely from hearsay, saying ‘*talis adhuc dicitur adservari in bibliotheca pontificia majusculis descriptis literis.*’ Now it does not appear from these words alone that he meant that Vatican manuscript in particular, which is the subject of our present inquiry, though a parallel passage, quoted in the third section of this chapter, makes it not improbable that he had it at least in view. On the other hand, unless he was grossly mistaken, he could not mean the Codex Vaticanus: if it be asked what manuscript he meant, if he meant not this, I am unable to answer the question, and Blanchini, in the note to P. I. p. 495. says the very same. Afterwards, Erasmus opposes to that, which he had before mentioned, another Vatican manuscript, saying ‘*quod si nos urgent autoritate Vaticanæ bibliothecæ, Codex, quem secutus est in N. T. Franciscus Cardinalis quondam Tolletanus non modo fuit ejusdem bibliothecæ verum etiam a Leone X. missus est, ut hoc veluti bonæ fidei exemplar imitarentur. Atqui is pene per omnia consentit cum mea editione.*’ If then this manuscript is the same as that which Leo X. sent to Alcalá, and Erasmus has given favourable accounts of its readings, it cannot be said to be a latinizing manuscript.

mus imagined that it was written after the Florentine council, which if he really supposed, he was guilty of a gross mistake<sup>341</sup>. Wetstein appeals also to an assertion of Bentley, who was in possession of extracts from the Codex Vaticanus<sup>342</sup>, and who frequently declared to his friends, that it agreed in almost all respects with the Codex Alexandrinus. If Bentley meant this of the reading of the Vatican MS. it is a very extraordinary assertion, because it is well known that the Cod. Alex. materially differs from most other manuscripts, and that in the Old Testament at least, the readings of the Vatican are diametrically opposite to those of the Alexandrine. But perhaps Bentley meant nothing more, than what must be striking to every man, that no two manuscripts are so similar to each other in antiquity, characters, and contents. But though in those respects so similar, yet in regard to their readings, they may be as discordant in the New Testament, as in the Old<sup>343</sup>. Lastly, he appeals to Matth. v. 22. and 1 John iv. 3. in which places the Cod. Vat., in conjunction with the Vulgate, omits *εικη* and *χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθота*. With respect to the first, and most plausible of these examples, I readily admit, that the omission of *εικη* is a fault: but if it be alleged as a proof of corruption from the Latin, it must have proceeded not from the old Latin, but from the corrected Vulgate of Jerom, for before his time many, or, as I would engage to prove, most of the Latin manuscripts had ‘*sine causa*.’ But a manuscript of such high antiquity will be hardly suspected of having been altered from the Vulgate. Besides, is it not possible that the writer of this manuscript might have omitted *εικη*, even though he had never seen the Latin version? If it was written in the beginning of the fifth century, the writer was a contemporary of Jerom: and the same severe principles of morality, which induced the learned father to expunge *εικη*, and to declare: *omnis iræ occasio tollitur: radendum est ergo ‘sine causa’ quia ira veri iustitiam Dei non operatur*: a morality which in that age was widely propagated in the Christian world, might have

have likewise induced our transcriber to make the same omission. It seems as if the very mention of this manuscript, of which Bentley had refused to communicate his extracts, excited Wetstein's indignation, of which we need no other proof, than what he says himself, p. 24. of his *Prolegomena*, that he had requested these extracts, not in the hope of discovering in them genuine readings, but merely with the view of demonstrating that the manuscript itself was of no value. If this is not to condemn unheard, and through pure prejudice, I know not what deserves the name<sup>344</sup>.

According to the account given by Hichtel, § 24. the letters of this manuscript are in many places faded, and have been retouched by a modern hand, which probably in some cases has been productive of error. Le Long, p. 160. of his *Bibliotheca sacra*<sup>345</sup>, says, on the evidence of Renaudot, *hic codex, in quo multa reperiuntur manu recentiori emendata, non est adeo antiquus, nec bonæ notæ, cum erratum sæpe sit ab antiquario, ut ad me scripsit testis oculatus E. R. qui eum inspexit et diligenter examinavit.* Blanchini, who quotes this passage, answers, p. 593, 594. the objections which Le Long had made to its antiquity, but that the manuscript has been corrected by a modern hand, he seems to confirm by his very silence, and since Wetstein has confirmed the account by two other witnesses, one of which was Schœpflin, it is no longer to be doubted<sup>346</sup>. In the use therefore of extracts from the Cod. Vat. it is necessary to make an accurate distinction between the readings of the first, and those of the second hand.

It is generally supposed that this manuscript was used by the editors of the Complutensian Bible, and even that this edition was almost entirely taken from it. This opinion is grounded partly on several passages in the prefaces to the Complutensian Bible, in which the editors boast of having received from the apostolic library of Pope Leo X. very ancient and valuable manuscripts, which

\* In the preface to the N. T. they say, *illud lectorum non lateat, non quævis exemplaria impressioni huic archetypa fuisse, sed antiquissima*

which had afforded them great assistance<sup>\*</sup>; partly on some expressions of Erasmus, which are so construed as if the Pope had commanded the editors of this edition to follow one of the best Vatican MSS. in particular. From these data Mill has formed a complete history of the proceedings of the Complutensian editors, in which he ascribes to them, as matter of fact, what, in his opinion, they might or should have performed: and on the supposition that they chiefly followed the Codex Vaticanus, he has selected an hundred readings, which he believed to have been immediately taken from it, though I will not positively affirm that he means this manuscript in particular, since the account, which he has given in his Prolegomena, § 1090, is not perfectly clear; and no man will take the pains to follow him in this inquiry, because he produces on mere conjecture, and without the least evidence, four or five hundred readings as taken from a manuscript which he had never seen.

It is not impossible that the Cod. Vat. was in the number of those which were sent to Alcala by Leo X. and even that which was particularly recommended by him: this however is certain, that the Complutensian Bible very frequently differs from it, and therefore that we cannot conclude from the readings of the one to those of the other<sup>347</sup>. I relate this on the authority of Blanchini, whose words I will subjoin in a note<sup>γ</sup>; and, as far as relates to the Septuagint, every man can determine for himself, by comparing the Roman and Complutensian editions. The latter I have frequently found more correct than the former.

The

*simā emendatissimæque, ac tantæ præterea vetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videretur: quæ sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster Leo X. pontifex maximus huic instituto favere cupiens ex apostolica bibliothecaeducta misit ad Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem Hispaniæ.* Mere passages may be seen in Wetstein.

<sup>\*</sup> Qui nobis in hoc negotio maximo fuerunt adjumento, as Cardinal Ximenes expresses himself in the Prologue addressed to Leo X.

<sup>γ</sup> Falluntur qui putant ad solum exemplar ex bibliotheca Vaticana supeditatum a Leone X. suam editionem exprimendum curasse Ximenium cum ab ipsa sæpissime, facta a nobis collatione, deslectat.

*Evangeliarium Quadruplex. P. I. p. 495.*

The Vatican manuscript has been collated more than once. Lucas of Bruges, in his edition of the four Gospels, has inserted the extracts which were made by Werner of Nimuegen: it has been likewise quoted by Antonius Agellius and Johannes Maldonatus; and what Wettstein could select, from these and other publications, may be seen among his various readings. The most complete extracts were those which Bentley procured; and as Wettstein could not obtain them, it were to be wished that the whole collection were published<sup>348</sup>. Professor Birch has again collated it in 1781, and discovered very important readings, which had been overlooked by his predecessors, and the complete extracts which he has made from it we are to expect in the Copenhagen edition of the Greek Testament. It has been mentioned above, that the Abbé Spoletti designed to publish an exact impression of this manuscript, that he delivered for that purpose a memorial to the Pope, but that the inquisition, to which the proposal was referred, refused its assent. Later accounts ascribe the refusal to Reggio, the present Prefect of the Vatican; but, whatever be the cause, it seems that we have little hope of seeing this manuscript in print, unless the Pope interposes his authority, and appoints a committee of learned men to superintend the publication.

254. Vaticanus 165, noted 58 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the epistles; but Wettstein, though he has numbered, does not quote it.

255. Palatino-Vaticanus, n. 171. noted 25 in the fourth part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the whole New Testament, written in the beginning of the 14th century. Amelotte, in the French translation of the New Testament, has quoted several of its readings, as far as relates to the book of Revelation; and these have been copied by Wettstein.

Beside those which have been here described, there are many manuscripts of the Greek Testament preserved in the Vatican. Those which were collated by Caryophilus have been already described under the title *Codices Barberini*,

berini, though our accounts of them are so imperfect, that we are unable to ascertain from what particular manuscript each particular reading was selected. Further information, in regard to the Vatican manuscripts, I am at present unable to communicate; but if this edition of my Introduction had been deferred two years longer, I should have been able to derive assistance from the expected Copenhagen edition of the Greek Testament<sup>349</sup>.

256—271. Velefiani XVI, noted Cod. III. in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., but in the three other parts Wettstein has not numbered them, because he held them to be unworthy of quotation.

Petrus Faxard, Marquis of Velez, collated sixteen manuscripts, eight of which were borrowed from the library of the King of Spain, and wrote from them various readings in his copy of the Greek Testament, but without mentioning what manuscripts in particular, or even how many in general were in favour of each quoted reading. This collection fell into the hands of Mariana, who found their coincidence with the Vulgate so remarkable, that they excited his suspicion, of which an account may be seen in Wettstein. In short, Mariana speaks of them in so doubtful and unfavourable a manner, that Wettstein is unjust in supposing that he was guilty of an imposture<sup>2</sup>. Mariana gave the collection to de la Cerda, who printed them in the ninety-first chapter of his *Adversaria sacra*. From this work they have been copied by the editors of the London Polyglot by Amelotte, Fell, Mill, and Bengel. Wettstein has numbered them in his catalogue, but not quoted them.

The Velefian readings agree in almost all cases with the Vulgate, and of those examples, which differ from the printed text of the Vulgate, many are found in Latin manuscripts, as my late father has shewn in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*,

<sup>2</sup> Dubito utrum Mariana malæ fidei, an imperitiæ potius postulandus sit.

ligendis\*, who has quoted passages for that purpose, from a manuscript of the Latin Bible, which belonged to Dr. Ludwig. They have even manifest errata, which can be ascribed only to the Latin: for instance Luke x. 30. *αναβλεπων*, instead of *υπολαβων* the reading of all other Greek manuscripts. Here it is evident that ‘*suscipiens*,’ the reading of the Vulgate, had been falsely written in some Latin manuscript ‘*suspiciens*,’ and that some person, who corrected the Greek from the Latin, altered, in consequence of this erratum, *υπολαβων* to *αναβλεπων*. In the collection of Veleſian readings alone we find *πολιν* for *οικουμενην*, Acts xvii, 6. which again must be ascribed to the Latin. The old Latin MSS. had in general ‘*orbem terrarum*,’ several ‘*orbem*’ alone, which in the modern Vulgate has been falsely written ‘*urbem*,’ and hence arose the Veleſian reading *πολιν*.

Hence it follows that Velez made use of Greek manuscripts that had been altered from the Latin<sup>350</sup>. But it is a very extraordinary circumstance, that all his sixteen manuscripts should latinize in so great a degree: it has been therefore supposed that he selected those readings which coincide with the Vulgate, and omitted all those which differed from it. The conjecture is not improbable, though it seems to be weakened by what my father has related in the eighty-seventh paragraph of the above-mentioned dissertation, that some of the Veleſian readings are found neither in the printed Vulgate, nor in any manuscripts of the Latin Bible hitherto examined. When he collected these examples, he had not seen the *Evangeliarum Quadruplex*, for both publications appeared in the same year; it might have been therefore conjectured that they would be found in the manuscripts published by Blanchini. But on a careful examination, I have found that several of the Veleſian readings, which my father could discover neither in the printed Vulgate, nor in any Latin manuscript, are likewise wanting in the *Evangeliarum*

\* § 87—90. in which the Veleſian readings are accurately examined, and to which those readers must have recourse who would investigate this subject.

Evangeliarium Quadruplex. Matth. vi. 8. Velez has ~~εξετε~~ for ~~ετε~~, but the Vulgate, and all the other Latin versions, 'quid opus sit,' in the present tense: Matth. x. 3. Velez has *Κανναιος* for *Λεββαιος*, but the Latin versions have either 'Lebbeus,' or entirely omit the name of the Apostle: Cannæus is found in none. It is true that they have Cananæus, or Chananæus, but this corresponds to *Καναανιτης*, not to *Λεββαιος*. Matth. xvi. 3. a Velefian manuscript omits *και πρωι, σημερον χειμων, πυρραζει* *γαρ στυγναζων ο εβρανος*, an omission observable neither in the Vulgate, nor in any old Latin version: ver. 6. a Velef. MS. omits *αυτοις*, which is found in the Vulgate, and in all Blanchini's manuscripts. Matth. xviii. 23. a Velef. MS. omits *αυτη* after *δελων* likewise, in opposition to the Vulgate, and the MSS. of Blanchini: and Matth. xix. 9. has *μη* for *ει μη*, whereas the Latin versions have either 'nisi,' or 'excepta,' (*causa adulterii*). To avoid prolixity, I mention no more examples, and I confess that the matter is still doubtful.

Wetstein, who was at all times too much inclined to suspect an imposture, contends that Velez collated not Greek, but Latin manuscripts, a circumstance which was either unknown to Mariana, or which he has concealed. Further, that Mariana, who found these readings noted in the margin of the third edition of Stephens, in the preface to which mention is made of sixteen collated Greek manuscripts, falsely ascribed to Velez, what has reference only to Stephens.

Now the several parts of the accusation correspond to each other very imperfectly: and it is impossible that Mariana could mistake the printed preface of Stephens, for the hand-writing of Velez. All the proofs that are alleged by Wetstein, in support of his conjecture, amount to nothing more, than that the Velefian manuscripts had been altered from the Latin, not that they were themselves Latin; and his first argument, which is drawn from the bad Greek observable in these readings, proves rather against Wetstein himself, as it is more reasonable to ascribe this bad Greek to an ignorant transcriber of



the middle ages, than to the Marquis of Velez. All objection duly weighed, I am of opinion that Velez actually used Greek manuscripts, that some of them had been in many places altered from the Latin, and that though he did not propose to select merely such readings as confirmed the text of the Vulgate, yet he preferred in general those which corresponded to it <sup>351</sup>.

272. Vignerii, noted 104 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, formerly in the possession of Vignier, and collated by Bigot. His extracts were inserted by Wettstein in his Greek Testament.

273. Vindobonensis 2, noted N in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains fragments of the book of Genesis, and the Gospel of St. Luke, but of the latter only chapter xxiv. 13—21. and 39—49 <sup>352</sup>. Wettstein placed it in his catalogue merely on account of a single reading, which Lambecius had quoted from it, and which Wettstein held for a manifest erratum <sup>b</sup>; but this is not so obvious, for the reading is very defensible. This reading is *καδὺς εκατον ἐξηκοντα*, Luke xxiv. 13. and it is certain that Emmaus was not sixty, but an hundred and sixty stadia from Jerusalem, though there was another town of the same name, which lay nearer. In my History of the Resurrection, p. 225—231, I have treated this subject more at large <sup>354</sup>: the reading is very ancient, though it is not genuine, but, as I believe, a correction of Origen <sup>355</sup>, of which more examples will be given chap. x. sect. 3. In Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex. P. I. p. 501, some account is given of this manuscript, and a fac simile of its characters <sup>356</sup>. Trefchow, who refers this fragment to the seventh century, has printed the whole of it in his Tentamen descriptionis codicis Vindobonensis, p. 124—127 <sup>357</sup>.

274. Vin-

<sup>b</sup> His words are, v. 13. pro *καδὺς ἐξηκοντα* scriptum est *καδὺς εκατον ἐξηκοντα*, quem manifestum errorem etiam ille ipse, cujus manu codex exaratus est, agnovit, ideoque singulis vocis *εκατον* literis singula superne imposuit argentea puncta, ut significaret totam illam vocem delendam esse. But how did Wettstein know that these points were added by the copyist <sup>353</sup>?

274. Vindobonensis 28, in Mill Vien. for Viennensis, and in Mastricht's Greek Testament Cæs. for Cæsareus, noted 76 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., in the second 49, in the third 43, contains the whole New Testament, except the Revelation. It is not, as Mill relates, written with uncial, but with small Greek letters, of which a fac simile is given in the first plate annexed to Treschow's Tentamen. Those who refer this manuscript to the tenth century, ascribe to it the utmost antiquity that can be admitted, and it is more than Treschow allows. Gerhard of Mastricht collated this manuscript in 1690, during the time that he resided as minister at the court of Vienna. Mill, who procured extracts from it without the knowledge of Mastricht, ascribes them to his countryman Ashe, but these are much less complete than those, which were afterwards inserted in Mastricht's own edition, and thence transferred to the edition of Wettstein<sup>358</sup>. Treschow, though he has not collated this manuscript, has yet observed a reading, that was overlooked by Mastricht; his collation therefore was not perfectly exact<sup>359</sup>.

275. Vindobonensis 29, (not 22, as in Wettstein) noted 77 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from the library of King Johannes Corvinus. Wettstein quotes it on Matth. vi. 13. and for that reason has assigned it a place in his catalogue. Treschow has described it in his Tentamen, p. 27—32, and given extracts of its readings in the Gospel of St. Matthew. According to his description, it has been corrected by four different hands, exclusive of the first, one of which has erased the whole verse John v. 32. except *ἄλλος ἐστίν*, and substituted *μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθῆς ἐστίν*. A sixth has written in the margin on Matth. vi. 13, the following Latin note in Gothic characters, "Nota bene, 'quia tuum est regnum, &c.' desiderari in multis codicibus<sup>360</sup>."

276. Vindobonensis 1, noted 57 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in Treschow Lambecii 1, contains the whole Greek Bible; but it is defective from Rev.

xx. 7. to the end <sup>361</sup>. It was brought by Busbeck from Constantinople. Wettstein quotes it Matth. vi. 13. but I am not certain whether he has ever quoted it in the epistles <sup>362</sup>. It is written by four different hands, of which the same that wrote the Pentateuch wrote also the New Testament. Treschow has given a fac simile of all four, described the manuscript p. 57—61, and added extracts from the epistle to the Romans <sup>c</sup>. He is of opinion that it latinizes, on which subject the reader may consult my *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VI. p. 18 <sup>364</sup>.

These were all the Codices Vindobonenses, which I was able to describe in the second edition, and two even of these deserved hardly a place in a catalogue of collated manuscripts. The following have been collated by Mr. Treschow, who, as well as Mr. Fleischer, was a native of Norway, and formerly one of my pupils. After he had finished his studies, he quitted Göttingen, and entered on a literary and critical journey, the result of which he communicated to the world in his *Tentamen descriptionis codicum veterum aliquot Græcorum Novi Fœderis manuscriptorum, qui in bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi asservantur*, published at Copenhagen in 1773: so excellent a work, that every one who reads it must wish that the author would devote himself entirely to literature, and not remain simple minister of a congregation; and that, instead of confining himself in Copenhagen, he would spend his time, in imitation of Wettstein, in critical wanderings. The wish will hardly be fulfilled, but the pleasure, which I have derived from two such excellent pupils as Treschow and Fleischer, who resemble each other not only as being natives of the same country, but as being possessed of an equal share of learning, is already great; and as I am able to enrich this Introduction with the fruit of their labours,

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<sup>c</sup> As an amendment to what I have written chap. vi. sect. 10. relative to the position of the three verses Rom. xvi. 25—27. it may be noted from Treschow, that they are wanting in this manuscript, both at the end of the fourteenth, and at the end of the sixteenth chapter <sup>363</sup>.

my readers will pardon me when I express the satisfaction which I feel.

277. Vindobonensis Lambecii 34, is a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, and was in the beginning of the sixteenth century the property of Arsenius, Archbishop of Malvasia in the Morea. Treschow describes the manuscript as very ancient, but this seems not to be confirmed by the characters, of which he has given a fac simile. It has corrections of different kinds, and it is probable that several of them are critical conjectures of a former proprietor. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. VI. p. 19—21<sup>365</sup>. Professor Hwiid has described it still more accurately, and has given the most minute extracts from it in the Acts of the Apostles, in his *Libellus criticus de indole codicis Lambecii XXXIV. Havniæ 1785*. It has a great resemblance to the Moscow manuscript l.

278. Vindobonensis Lambecii 35, contains the Acts and the Epistles, and was written, according to Treschow, in the twelfth century. Its readings are not important. Many of them I have found in the Complutum edition, even where it is not quoted by Wetstein. It belongs therefore to that class of manuscripts, which were principally used by the Spanish editors. And this edition is of such importance, that it is useful to know the manuscripts which are allied to those from which it was chiefly taken, whether we discover them in Spain, Vienna, or in Copenhagen<sup>366</sup>.

279. Vindobonensis Lambecii 36, contains the same books as the preceding, and appears to have been written in the eleventh, or twelfth century<sup>367</sup>.

280. Vindobonensis Lambecii 37, contains likewise the same books. Treschow has taken from it only fourteen various readings<sup>368</sup>.

The other Vienna manuscripts, which Treschow has described, but not collated, belong not to the present catalogue<sup>369</sup>.

281. Wakiani Codices, are so called as having formerly belonged to Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury,

who bequeathed them to the library of Christ Church in Oxford <sup>370</sup>.

That which is noted 73 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, is supposed to be 700 years old, and was a present from Mauro Cordato, Prince of Wallachia. Wettstein procured extracts of it from John Walker.

282. Wakianus, noted 74 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from mount Athos, extracts of which were communicated to Wettstein by the same person.

283. Wakii 1, noted 26 in the fourth part of Wettstein's N. T., contains, beside other matters, which are foreign to our present purpose, the Revelation of St. John. It was collated by Caspar Wettstein, and Walker refers it to the eleventh century.

284. Wakii 2, noted 27 in the fourth part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the catholic epistles, (with exception to the epistle of St. James, and the first of St. Peter) the Revelation of St. John, all the epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels as far as Luke vi. 42. This manuscript was likewise collated in the book of Revelation, by Caspar Wettstein, for J. Wettstein's edition of the Greek Testament.

285. Wheelerianus 1, noted 68 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from the East by George Wheeler <sup>371</sup>, and collated by Mill. It has a very remarkable reading John xix. 34. *ηνοιξε* for *ενοιξε*, in which it coincides only with the Vulgate and the New Syriac <sup>372</sup>.

286. Wheelerianus 2, noted 95 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., contains the Gospel of St. Luke, beginning with chap. xi. 2. and the Gospel of St. John, in which two leaves are wanting. It was collated by Mill.

287. Wheelerianus 3, noted Lectionarium 3 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., is an evangelistarium, which was brought from the East, and collated by Mill. It is supposed to be 750 years old.

288. West-

288. Westmonasteriensis 935, noted 25 in the second part of Wettstein's N. T., in the third 20, a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles, preserved in his Majesty's library. It was collated by Wettstein in 1716 <sup>373</sup>.

289. Winchelseanus, noted 106 in the first part of Wettstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the tenth century, and the property of Lord Winchelsea. It was collated by Jackson <sup>4</sup>, whose extracts Wettstein inserted in his Greek Testament. A remarkable circumstance is related by Wettstein relative to this manuscript, that an Arabic interpretation of the word *παρασκευ* is added Matth. xxvii. 62. and that its readings agree with those of the Syriac version. I have made the same observation in regard to several other manuscripts, but here we find even the cause of this agreement: for it appears from the Arabic interpretation, that the manuscript belonged to an Arabic Christian; and to the Christians of the East the Syriac version was formerly what the Vulgate is at present in the church of Rome. I have also discovered examples of agreement between this manuscript and the New Syriac version; for instance Mark xii. 20. *δε* for *ου* <sup>375</sup>. It has in general remarkable readings, which are found either in no other manuscript, or only in a few, but those of good authority, of which the omission of *αυτε*, Matth. xxvii. 60. is an instance. One of its readings appears to be the result of a correction, made to avoid an apparent difficulty. The common text, John xviii. 15. is *και ο αλλος μαθητης*, which is literally 'and the other disciple:' but some have supposed this to be impossible, and for that reason Erasmus and Bengel have omitted the article, in order that the meaning might be 'and another disciple.' The same omission is observed in this manuscript, as also in the Codd. Alexandrinus and Cantabrigiensis.

290. Wolfii

<sup>4</sup> Jackson's extracts came afterwards into the hands of de Missy, in the catalogue of whose library they were numbered 1616. By whom they were purchased at de Missy's sale, or where they are preserved at present, I know not <sup>376</sup>.

290. Wolfii A, noted G in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, with the following chasms: Matth. i, 1—vi, 6. vii, 25—viii, 9. viii, 23—ix, 2. xxviii, 18—Mark i, 13. Mark i, 32—ii, 4. xiv, 19—25. Luke i, 1—13. v, 4—vii, 3. viii, 46—ix, 5. xi, 27—41. xxiv, 41. to the end of St. Luke's Gospel: John xvii, 5—19. xix, 4—27. It is at present in the British Museum, where it is noted Harleianus 5684. Wolf published the extracts of this manuscript in the third volume of his *Anecdota*, but Griesbach, on collating Matth. vi, 6—ix, 18. found that several readings had been overlooked. See his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. lxiv—lxvi.

291. Wolfii B, noted H in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, with the following chasms: Matth. i, 1—xv, 30. xxv, 3—xxvi, 3. Mark xv, 44—xvi, 14. Luke v, 18—33. vi, 8—23. x, 2—19. John ix, 30—x, 25. xviii, 2—25. xx, 12—25.

The two last-mentioned manuscripts were brought from the East by Erasmus Seidel, after whose death they were purchased by La Croze\*, and presented to J. C. Wolf of Hamburg. The latter collated them, and published their extracts in the third volume of his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, in the preface to which work he has given a description of them, and refers them both to the eighth century. Wetstein inserted the extracts in his collection of various readings, omitting however those which he held to be errata, for instance *καταλογησente* for *βαπτολογησente*, Matth. vi. 7.

292. Wolfii, or Jacobi Fabri Daventriensis, noted 90 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 47<sup>f</sup>, contains the following books of the New Testament, in this

\* Wolf does not mention la Croze by name in the preface to his *Anecdota*, but describes him only as *amicus integerrimus*, &c. but that he meant la Croze is evident from the *Thesaurus epistolicus la Crozianus*, Tom. II. p. 142.

<sup>f</sup> Wetstein has omitted it in the second part of his N. T., for which I am unable to assign a reason.

this order, John, Luke, Matthew, Mark, the epistles of St. Paul, the Acts, and the catholic epistles: the epistle of St. Jude is written twice, and from two different copies. The writer is John Faber of Daventer, who copied it in the sixteenth century, from a manuscript written in the year 1293. It was purchased<sup>6</sup> by Wettstein out of Wolf's library, and collated for his Greek Testament. The ancient manuscript of 1293 was written on mount Athos, by Theodore, the same person who wrote the Codex Wankianus, described above N<sup>o</sup> 282, which is the reason that these two manuscripts very frequently agree<sup>376</sup>.

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From the preceding catalogue of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, I would recommend to my readers to make another in reference to each book of the New Testament, noting those in which each book is contained, and at the same time distinguishing such as have been only superficially examined, from those which have been carefully collated. Without a catalogue of this kind, they will be unable, on consulting Mill, or Wettstein, to judge of the proportion of the manuscripts in favour of a reading, to those which decide against it. If it be asked why I have not executed the task myself, I answer, because I am apprehensive that many might be dissatisfied with the performance, as it is often difficult to determine, whether a manuscript should be referred to the accurately, or the superficially collated<sup>377</sup>.

On the last perusal of this section before it was sent to the press, the question occurred to me, whether the manuscripts written on mount Athos are similar to each other in their readings, and belong to the same edition; and what relationship they bear to the text of Theophylact, the Russian version, and the Moscow manuscripts. But for this section the inquiry would be too prolix<sup>378</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> If I understand rightly Wettstein's expression, *ex cujus bibliotheca hunc codicem mihi comparavi.*



## CHAPTER IX.

OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT  
IN THE WORKS OF ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

## S E C T. I.

*The Fathers, Heretics, Enemies of the Christian Religion, and other writers who quote the New Testament, considered as Evidence for its readings.*

THE third kind of evidence, which may be produced for or against a reading, consists in the writings of the Ancients, in which passages are quoted from the New Testament.

The first persons, to whom our attention is usually directed on examining this kind of evidence, are the ancient fathers; and to this species of readings is usually given the title of 'Readings from the fathers,' because recourse has been principally had to their writings. But they are not the only authors, which are used for this purpose; for orthodoxy is not considered as a necessary qualification in these cases, and we need only examine, whether the quoted authors are possessed of critical knowledge, and alter not the New Testament merely on theological conjecture. Even the quotations of Marcion are of importance to a collector of various readings, because many of them might be grounded not on a theological hypothesis, but on the authority of manuscripts; for it is an undoubted fact, that the heretics were in the right in many points of criticism, where the fathers accused them of wilful corruption<sup>b</sup>. There are passages, in which Marcion is a very important evidence; for example, when he and Origen omit Luke xi. 2—4. *ἡμῶν . . . ἐν τοῖς ἑβραίοις . . . γεννηθῆτω τὸ θελημα σου ὡς ἐν ἑβραίοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . ἀλλὰ ρυσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπο τῶν πονηρῶν*, Origen is a surety to us, that this omission is not to be ascribed to Marcion's

<sup>b</sup> See chap. vi. sect. 12.

Marcion's heresy, and Marcion's evidence informs us that the passage was wanting in copies of the Greek Testament in the second century. It may be observed in general that orthodoxy, and heterodoxy, have little or no connexion with matters of criticism, because the question relates not to articles of faith, but to facts, that is, to the readings that did or did not exist in the manuscripts of any particular age: and if the evidence of all but the orthodox fathers is to be rejected, we shall have very few substantial witnesses remaining. For though the catholic church speaks of a very great number of orthodox fathers, yet very few will be found, if examined by our own creed, who were free from error.

Even the adversaries of the Christian religion are quoted as evidence for a reading of the Greek Testament. When Porphyry accused the Evangelist of falsely ascribing to Isaiah the words, 'I send my messenger before thee,' he must have undoubtedly found, in his copy of the Greek or Syriac Testament, Mark i. 1. *ὡς γεγραπται ἐν Ησαϊα τῷ προφητῇ*. I have purposely chosen this example, because Porphyry's testimony is here of great consequence: for without it the suspicion might arise, that this erroneous<sup>1</sup> reading had been transferred from one of the Latin versions<sup>1</sup>, into those six Greek manuscripts in which it is found, since five of them are generally supposed to latinize<sup>2</sup>. But as this passage was an object of Porphyry's ridicule in the third century, it must have stood in Greek manuscripts, before the Latin version can be supposed to have had any influence on either the Greek, or Syriac Testament.

Knittel has recommended<sup>1</sup> the use of ancient diplomas, in which passages are quoted from the New Testament,

<sup>1</sup> The Cod. Vercellensis, published by Blanchini, has, *Sicut scriptum est in Eſeiam prophetam*, the Veronensis, *sicut scriptum est in Eſeia propheta*, the Brixianus, *sicut scriptum est in Eſaia propheta*.

<sup>2</sup> Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, Basileensis, Colbertinus 2844, and Montfortianus.

<sup>1</sup> In one of the treatises annexed to his edition of a fragment of Ulpian.

ment, in the same manner as we use the ancient fathers. There is something in this thought, which at first sight recommends it; but I believe that if the proposal were put in execution, it would be attended with little advantage to sacred criticism, and would afford only an opportunity to men of industry of producing something, to which the epithet of critical might be applied. A diploma, as far as relates to passages of the Bible, which are occasionally quoted, is not entitled to the same degree of credit, as it is in regard to the matter, which is its immediate object. It is not probable that the composer consulted the Bible for the passage, or the sentence which he introduced; and in my opinion at least, an ancient father is an infinitely more important evidence, than the writer of a deed, that relates to a matter of property, or commerce. But, admitting this opinion to be unjust, we should still derive from documents of this kind very little advantage, because those, of which we are in possession, were written in the West of Europe, and composed not in Greek, but in Latin. Even these ascend no higher than the middle ages, and can be applied to no other purpose, than to determine the text of the Vulgate in those centuries. But if a critic intended to exert the same diligence on the text of the Vulgate, as on that of the Greek Testament, he would rather have recourse to the great number of Latin manuscripts preserved in different libraries, than adopt a plan, which is attended with so much difficulty.

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## S E C T. II.

*Rules to be observed in making extracts from the Writings of the Fathers.*

THE rules which I shall give in this section apply immediately to the ancient fathers; but with proper restrictions they are likewise applicable to the heretics, and enemies of Christianity, who have quoted the  
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New Testament, and even, if we follow the advice of Knittel, to the ancient diplomas.

It must be remarked in the first place, that the question relates not to the opinion, but to the evidence of the fathers. We have to inquire, not what reading they preferred, but what they actually found in the manuscripts which they used. For we are able to judge of the goodness of a reading as well as they, but the manuscripts of which they were in possession were much more ancient than any that are now extant.

To illustrate what I have above said by an example. Some of the most eminent critics have disputed, whether *εἰς*, Matt. v. 22. be genuine or not, that is, whether Christ asserted that every man who was angry with his brother, or those only who were angry without a cause, were liable to condemnation. Erasmus, Mill, Bengel, and Pfaff reject *εἰς*, but Wettstein seems inclined to retain it<sup>1</sup>. It is found in most of the Greek manuscripts, and in some of the old Latin versions published by Blanchini, namely, the Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbeiensis, and Brixianus. It is true that this reading is omitted in the Forojulienensis, but that manuscript contains properly the late Vulgate of Jerom, as I have shewn in the note to chap. vii. sect. 22. Now in this instance, even in the opinion of those who reject *εἰς*, the whole depends on the accounts of Jerom and Augustin. The former, in his note to Matth. v. 22. says, in quibusdam codicibus additur *sine causa*. It appears then from this evidence, that *sine causa* was found at that time in several manuscripts, and therefore that it is not an addition of later ages. With respect to the reason why it was omitted in the Vulgate, which is not a matter of evidence, but of opinion, he expresses himself in the following manner. Cæterum in veris definita sententia est, et ira penitus tollitur, dicente scripturâ, *qui irascitur fratri suo*. Si enim jubemur verberanti alteram præbere maxillam, et inimicos nostros amare, et orare pro persequentibus, omnis iræ occasio tollitur. Radendum est ergo *sine causa*, quia ira viri justitiam Dei non operatur. But  
this

this opinion is ungrounded, for critical questions relative to what Christ actually asserted, or not, must not be determined by any system of morality which we ourselves may happen to have adopted, and least of all by principles so severe and extravagant, as those of Jerom. The passage in St. James has no reference to the present inquiry, for that relates to the displeasure expressed by mortals at the commands of the Deity, which in all cases is worthy of censure: but, that anger in general is a crime is certainly not true, though it would be foreign to the present purpose to endeavour to prove that assertion. Nor is it irreconcilable with the principle, that we ought to love our enemies, though Jerom opposes the one to the other: for even Christ himself has been guilty of sin, if anger in general is to be included under that denomination. It appears indeed that several manuscripts, even in the age of Jerom, omitted *sine causa*; but when he applies to them the title of *veri*, it is evident that he has no other motive for so doing, than that the omission corresponded to his system of morality. It is likewise evident from the whole connexion, that these were Latin manuscripts: and it is remarkable that the very man, who on all other occasions attempted to correct the Latin version from the Greek original, appeals not in this instance, where he takes a decided part, to Greek manuscripts. This very circumstance affords sufficient ground to conclude, that he had found no Greek manuscript in which εἰς was omitted. If considered therefore as an evidence, he tacitly contradicts what he asserts as a matter of opinion.

Let us hear, however, what he says upon this subject on another occasion. In speaking of this passage of St. Matthew, in his note to Ephes. iv. 31. he again rejects *sine causa*, merely on theological grounds, without appealing to Greek manuscripts: nam ad illud evangelii, *quicumque irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit iudicio*, frustra est additum *sine causa*, quia nec cum causa irasci nobis conceditur manifestissime apostolo nunc dicente, *amaritudo, et furor, et ire tollatur a vobis*. It is true,

that in his second book against the Pelagians<sup>a</sup>, he speaks as an evidence more than in the preceding quotations, for he asserts that most manuscripts, that is, as I understand, Latin manuscripts, omit *sine causa*. His words are, in eodem evangelio legimus, *qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit iudicio*. Licet in plerisque codicibus antiquis *sine causa* additum non sit, ut scilicet ne cum causa quidem debeamus irasci. But it seems as if the zeal, which he exerted in confuting the heretics, prevented him from examining the words with the same accuracy, as he displays in his exposition of the Bible. This at least is certain, that most of the manuscripts of the old Latin version, which Blanchini was able to discover, have *sine causa*, and Jerom himself, though he censures the reading, quotes these words as a part of the common text.

Another evidence on this subject is Augustine, who in his Tractationes, Lib. I. 19., writes as follows, *codices Græci non habent sine causa, sicut hic positum est, quamvis idem ipse sit sensus*. Here it is evident that Augustin acknowledges tacitly, that *sine causa* was the common reading of the Latin version: and when he appeals to Greek manuscripts, we cannot suppose that he actually had recourse to them in proof of his assertion, but must conclude, that he interpreted what Jerom had said of manuscripts in general, as applying to Greek manuscripts in particular. The only inference therefore to be deduced from what he says on this subject is, that he has discovered no manuscript of the Latin version, in which *sine causa* was omitted.

In the following chapter I shall take notice of the critical conjectures of the ancient fathers: but whenever they cease to appear in the character of simple witnesses, the readings which they propose are of no more authority, than those recommended by modern critics. And, if these readings were found in printed editions, and even in Greek manuscripts, yet if we were certain, that they were not contained in the most ancient manuscripts,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. IV. p. 513, of Martianus's edition.

scripts, but were merely the result of conjecture, we should have solid grounds for rejecting them. And it is a certain fact, that several readings in our common printed text are nothing more, than alterations made by Origen, whose authority was so great in the Christian church, that emendations, which he proposed, though, as he himself acknowledged, they were supported by the evidence of no manuscript, were very generally received.

But wherever we are certain that the quotations of the fathers were actually taken from manuscripts, they are of very great importance in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, and are in general to be preferred to any manuscript of the Greek Testament now extant, the oldest of which, no man would venture to place higher than the fifth century. If a father then, who lived in that age, has this or that particular reading, it is the same as if we found it in one of our most ancient manuscripts<sup>a</sup>: and if he adds, that this was the common reading of manuscripts, which even at that time were considered as old, it is surely supported by greater authority than if it were found in the Alexandrine, or the Vatican manuscript. But should a father of the third century, Origen for instance, or even a man of less learning, have found any particular reading in his manuscript, no one could oppose to it, as an evidence of equal weight, any one single manuscript that is now remaining. To illustrate what I have said by an example: If it could be shewn, that the celebrated passage, 1 John v. 7., was quoted by a father of the third or fourth century, I should consider it as a much stronger proof of its authenticity, than if it were discovered in our most ancient manuscripts: and if it were true, that Cyprian had quoted it,

<sup>a</sup> Bengel in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* § xxxii. Obs. xx. Confid. VI. has the following remark,—Recentiores patres Græci singuli fere codicibus Græcis singulis æquiparari possunt, Latini Latinis. Antiqui vero et Græci et Latini excellentem habent auctoritatem. Though I approve the greatest part of this rule, I would alter it in the following manner,—Patres Græci inde a quinto sæculo singuli fere singulis codicibus Græcis æquiparari possunt, Latini Latinis, &c.<sup>4</sup>.

it, we should have the same authority, as if it were contained in a manuscript of the Latin version, written in the third century. Or, when I find from the testimony of Origen, which I carefully distinguish from his opinion, that γεργεσηνων, Matth. viii. 28. a reading which he himself introduced, was in none of the Greek manuscripts of his time, all of which had either γερασηνων or γαδαρηνων, I cannot possibly consider the present reading as genuine, though it is supported by the authority of very many manuscripts. For all these were written much later than the time of Origen, and their text has been altered according to his critical conjecture: and when all the Greek manuscripts, which Origen could discover in the third century, are placed in one scale, and those, that are extant in the eighteenth century, in the other, the former must greatly overbalance the latter. Wherever I find among the testimonies in favour of a reading, the names of Clement of Alexandria, or of Origen, they excite in me a high degree of respect. In cases therefore, where only a few manuscripts, and even when no manuscript can be produced in favour of the same reading, I am not seldom induced to prefer the authority of an ancient father to that of all manuscripts written since his time. To mention only a few examples. The fifth verse of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew, in one manuscript only, namely the Cantabrigiensis<sup>s</sup>, is placed before the fourth: the same inversion is observed in the Latin translation, and in the three fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius, who cannot be accused of a partiality for that version. It may be asked, whether their authority is not equivalent to that of all other manuscripts?—Luke xi. 2. for ελθτω η βασιλεια σου, Gregory of Nyssa alone has ελθτω το αγιον πνευμα εφ' ημας<sup>o</sup>, but he quotes it, as if it was the common reading in the manuscripts of the fourth century.

<sup>o</sup> His words are, η καθως ημιν υπο τη Λυκα το αυτο νοημα σαφεστερον ερμηνευεται, ο την βασιλειαν ελθειν αξιον της τε πνευματος συμμαχιας επιβοαι· ουτος γαρ εν τω εκεινω ευαγγελιω αντι της, ελθτω η βασιλεια σου, ελθτω, φησι, το αγιον πνευμα εφ' ημας.



tury. In Pontus at least, or in the country, in which he resided, this must have been the common reading: and it is admirably adapted to the thirteenth verse, where the Holy Ghost is mentioned so as to imply an allusion to the Spirit in the preceding part of the discourse. In the second and fourth verses of the same chapter, only a few manuscripts, in conjunction with Origen, omit the interpolation from St. Matthew in the Lord's Prayer; but then the authority of Origen, united with the nature of the subject itself, determines in favour of the omission.—Socrates relates, in his Ecclesiastical History, B. VII. 32. that he had found in ancient manuscripts *ο λυει* for *ο μνη ομολογει*, 1 John iv. 3. and the same reading is likewise quoted by Origen<sup>6</sup>: but, though it is found in the Vulgate, it has hitherto been discovered in no Greek manuscript. Now as this reading is well adapted to the tenor of St. John's epistle, and to the history of the ancient heretics<sup>p</sup>, I am inclined to abide by the authority of Origen, and of the manuscripts of Socrates, than of those which remain in the present century.

Considered therefore from this point of view, the readings collected from the writings of the most ancient fathers, should be preferred to those which are drawn from our manuscripts of the Greek Testament. But on the other hand, there are cases in which the latter are more deserving of attention, namely, whenever doubts arise, what were the readings which an ancient father found in the manuscripts that he used? Whenever it is expressly declared, as was done by Origen in the preceding example, or whenever verbal commentaries are written upon any particular passage, no room remains for doubt: but when a passage is simply quoted either in commentaries, sermons, or polemical discourses, without an explanation being given of each word, it is often a matter of uncertainty, whether the father, who made the quotation, found in his manuscript those words precisely, as he has produced them<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>p</sup> Whoever separates Jesus from Christ, contends that Christ was a spirit of a higher order, which united itself with Jesus at his baptism, and departed from him before the time of his death.

It must be likewise observed, that the writings of the fathers themselves may have been sometimes altered, either by copyists or by editors, so as to make these quotations from the New Testament tally with those, to which the copyists, or editors themselves, were accustomed, or to which they gave the preference. In applying therefore the writings of the fathers to the criticism of the New Testament, we must particularly endeavour to procure correct editions of their works. The Venetian edition of Theophylact, for instance, is very inaccurate, and therefore of very little value in sacred criticism: but should any one be disposed to make use of it for this purpose, he would do well to read and examine the remarks in the Gottingen Review for the year 1762, p. 1059—1063.

Another remark, which is necessary to be made, is the following. The fathers quote sometimes not a whole passage, but only some few words of it, which relate in particular to the subject in question, and with these they intermix their own words: or they quote paraphrastically, so as to give the sense, which they ascribe to the words, instead of the words themselves: or they quote from memory, not so much attending to the words as to the sense. I will mention in the note some few examples, in which there is a suspicion of this kind, that renders the quotations less certain than they otherwise would be<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> In the following passage, Matth. xxiii. 15. *καὶ οὗτοι γίνονται, θεωροῦντες αὐτοὺς ὡς γενητοὺς διπλοῦτερον ὑμῶν*, the word *ὑμῶν* has afforded difficulty to many of the commentators, and Heumann wished entirely to reject it, in support of which he appealed to the evidence of Justin Martyr. It is true that Justin omits it, as appears from the Cologne edition of 1686, p. 350, but he quotes the passage in so free a manner, that we can hardly deduce any solid reference from what he has omitted. His words are, 'Of those indeed (namely the proselytes to the Jewish religion) Christ also testifieth; but ye are, as he saith, doubly children of hell: *οὗτοι δὲ διπλοῦτεροι υἱοὶ γενητοῦ, ὡς αὐτοὶ εἶπεν, γινώσκει*'.

In the second homily of the Pseudo-Clemens, § 51, p. 640, is a various reading, not noted by Wetstein, *μη ἀδελφὸς τὰ ἀλλὰ τὰν γραφῶν*.

It is true that charges of this kind have been sometimes carried too far, and the readings which are drawn from the writings of the fathers, less estimated than they deserve. Critics, even of eminence, are not agreed in their sentiments on this subject, some considering the quotations of the fathers as accurately taken from their manuscripts of the Greek Testament, while others believe them to be inaccurate and made merely from memory. There arose a controversy in Italy, about forty years ago, which gave rise to a work on this subject, in which the opinions of the learned in general are delivered so fully, as to make it unnecessary for me to fill a page with names and quotations. The cause of this literary dispute was the following quotation, made by Tertullian from John i. 13. *qui non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo natus est*, where

for *μη ειδότες τας γραφας*, Mark xii. 24. Now I do not believe that Clement found this reading in his Greek manuscripts, and am persuaded that the person, who fabricated the Clementine homilies, imagined there was a kind of emphasis in the plural *γραφας*, as expressive of two kinds of writings, spurious and genuine, of which, according to his account, the Pentateuch consisted. This exposition he introduced into the quotation, and wrote *τα αληθη των γραφων*, 'the true parts of scripture.' The whole passage is as follows, *Ει ον των γραφων α μιν ησιν αληθη, α δε ψευδη, ειλογως ο διδασκαλος ημων ειλεγε, γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι, ως των εν ταις γραφαις τινων μιν δοκιμων αυτω ληφον, τινων δε κισδηλων. Και τοις απο των ψευδων γραφων πλανομενοις οικειως τη πλανης εξεφανη την αιτιαν, λεγον δια τουτο πλανασθε, μη ειδότες τα αληθη των γραφων. Ενεκεν αγνοειτε και την δυταμιν τη θεω.*

Another remarkable instance is the following: Cyril of Alexandria, in his tenth book against Julian, p. 328, quotes Rom. ix. 3—5, to prove that St. Paul had called Christ God: but he has omitted many words, which could never have been wanting in any manuscript of the Greek Testament, and therefore the quotation of Cyril cannot constitute a various reading. The omitted words I will insert in parentheses. *Ευχομεν γαρ αυτος (εγω), φησιν, αναθεμα ειναι απο (τη) χρις, υπερ των αδελφων μου, των συγγενων (μου) κατα σαρκα\* οτινες εισιν Ισραηλιται, ον η υιοθεσια (και η δοξα) και η νομοθεσια, και η διαδυα, (και η πατερια), ον οι πατερες, και εξ ον το κατα σαρκα χρις, ο ον επι παντας θεος υιολογητος εις της αιωνας. Αμην.* Here are ten words omitted, beside those which are altered, or transposed.

where the verb being in the singular makes the whole sentence refer, not to those who are born again, but to Christ. Now, as several of the fathers quote in this manner, Castus Innocens Ansaldus, a learned monk, concluded that these words must have actually stood in one of the old Latin versions. The opinion was not ungrounded, for Blanchini found this very reading in the Veronensian manuscript, which he afterwards published in his *Evangeliarium quadruplex*. But Petrus Barzanus of Brescia published a letter in answer to Ansaldus, in which he contended that the fathers quoted negligently and merely from memory, that Tertullian had here made a mistake for that very reason, and that the error had crept from his writings into manuscripts of the Latin version, of which that of Verona was an instance. To this Ansaldus replied, in the following work: *Casti Innocentis Ansaldi, ordinis prædicatorum, de authenticis sacrarum scripturarum apud SS. patres lectionibus libri duo, Veronæ 1746*, in which he has displayed very solid sense, an impartial love of truth, and a knowledge of what has been written on this subject even by protestant critics, to whose writings he ascribes their due value. But, as in most controversies, he carries the matter too far, and, like other authors of the Romish church, is too partial an advocate for the authority of the fathers, which he thinks it imprudent to diminish: an opinion which in other churches is now laid aside.

To set the matter in a clear light, it is necessary to make a distinction between those passages, which the fathers expressly declare, that they have taken literally from manuscripts, and those which they quote without any such assurance. Of the former we can entertain no doubt, since no man, without solid proofs, would accuse the fathers of having been purposely guilty of falsehood. The only case, in which a suspicion might arise, is when they are quoted in polemical writings; for in these the fathers sometimes make use of a finesse, which in plain terms would be called a deviation from

the truth, though Jerom defends in a very plausible manner this mode of arguing: but a suspicion of this kind must not often be entertained. The question then, which I am to answer, relates to the second kind of quotations.

If we judge from the practice of writers in general, and without ever having read the works of the fathers, it is unreasonable to suppose that they have never quoted either paraphrastically or from memory. For no author would willingly impose upon himself so severe a rule; and if this accuracy is sometimes observed, we cannot expect it in all cases from so great a variety of writers, who lived in different ages, and in different countries. Whatever Ansaldus may assert to the contrary, it is certain that the Apostles and Evangelists themselves have not always preserved the words of the Septuagint, but that they have substituted in some cases synonymous expressions, especially in the speeches recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and that they have sometimes quoted from mere memory. Why then shall we expect from the fathers a greater degree of accuracy, than was observed by the writers of the New Testament? Nay it is a certain fact, that they have committed very gross mistakes of memory, examples of which are given by Dallæus in his treatise *De usu Patrum*, l. 2. c. 3. And if they have been guilty of error in respect to the subjects themselves, if Epiphanius has quoted the words 'touch me not,' as used by Christ to his mother, we may naturally suppose that they have sometimes deviated from the words, which stood in their manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

But on the other hand it is certain, that they have not quoted so frequently from memory, as some critics have conjectured; and many supposed mistakes of memory, especially in the Latin fathers, have been found to be nothing more than various readings, which actually exist in ancient manuscripts, as appears from the publications of Blanchini and Sabatier.

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We are not therefore to reject the quotation of a father, because it differs from the common text, but must first examine whether it cannot be discovered in manuscripts of the New Testament, and to enable those, who have access to manuscripts, to make this comparison with as much ease as possible, we should endeavour to procure the most accurate and copious extracts from the writings of the fathers. If a reading then, which had the appearance of being an error of memory, is actually discovered in manuscripts, we may without hesitation put it down in the list of various readings: its antiquity will be determined by the age, in which the father, who quoted it, lived; and the manuscripts, which contain it, will afford a secondary evidence of its age and authenticity.

But we must not judge of the writings of all the fathers, nor of all the writings of the same father in the same manner. They may be divided into three different classes. 1, Commentaries, to which may be referred also those discourses which were written as expositions of parts of the Bible. 2, Works of edification. 3, Polemical writings. In the first it is evident, that the book which is expounded is not quoted from memory, but that the author in writing his commentary, had lying before him a manuscript of the Greek Testament. But with respect to the polemical writings of the fathers, those who are acquainted with their mode of disputation, and know that their principal object is sometimes to confound their adversaries, rather than to support the truth, will refer the quotations, which appear in these productions, to the lowest class. If a father was acquainted with more than one reading to a passage, he would certainly quote that which best suited his purpose, and with which he could most easily confute his opponents. It is therefore not sufficient to know what reading he quotes, but we must likewise consider where he quotes it: and those therefore, who collect various readings from the writings of the ancient fathers, would do well

to point out the book, chapter, edition, and page, in order to enable the reader to form a proper judgement.

Lastly, it is necessary to make an accurate distinction between a quotation properly so called, and a passage of scripture introduced and applied as a part of a discourse. For if a writer, in treating any known doctrine of the Bible, uses the words of scripture, he is at liberty to add or substract, to contract or dilate them in a manner, that is best adapted to the tenor of his discourse. But even such passages are not unworthy of notice, for, if they are different in different manuscripts, and any one of these latter coincides with the former, the coincidence is not to be considered as a matter of chance. But when no manuscript corroborates the reading in such a passage, it is entitled to no voice, in deciding on the text of the Greek Testament.

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### S E C T. III.

*Division of the Fathers, according to the languages, in which they wrote.*

**I**N collecting readings from the works of the fathers, an accurate distinction must be made between those who wrote in Greek, and those who wrote in another language. Properly speaking, the former only are to be considered, when we select readings for the Greek Testament, and the latter immediately relate to the text of the version, from which they are quoted, unless particular mention be made of the Greek, or the writer, like Jerom, made a practice of correcting the translation of his country from the original.

I will begin with the Syrian fathers, because in treating of them I shall be less exposed to the danger of contradiction, since in general only men of learning and judgement have written on that subject. It has been doubted whether Ephrem the Syrian understood those languages, in which the Bible was written: my own  
opinion

opinion is, that he did not<sup>2</sup>; this at least is certain, that in his Syriac commentaries he quotes the Bible from the Syriac version, in the same manner as Luther's translation is quoted in German commentaries, except in some particular cases, where the original is particularly mentioned. I am much better acquainted with his writings on the Old Testament, than with those on the New, and I have there observed that he frequently deviates from the common Syriac text, which might be corrected from his quotations, though at other times his readings appear to be less accurate than those of the Polyglot. In some few places he alludes to the original, but observations of that kind may perhaps be ascribed to others, rather than to Ephrem himself. I speak at present of his Syriac works: with respect to his Greek writings, I shall make some observations in the sequel. The writings of the most learned Syrian fathers, before his time, are no longer extant.

The Latin fathers have acted in the same manner as the Syrian, and have quoted the Bible according to their own version<sup>3</sup>; the later fathers have quoted the Vulgate, whereas the most ancient have used one of those versions, that existed before the time of Jerom. And in the same manner, as the old Latin versions differ from each other, we find a difference in the quotations of the same passage in the writings of different fathers. Tertullian, for instance, quotes a different text from that which appears to have been in use either in Rome, or in Milan. Even Jerom, who made it his particular business to correct the Latin translation from the original, is to be understood in general either of the common version, or his own corrected edition, whenever he declares not the contrary. Those, who are accustomed to the writings of the Latin fathers, expect to find no other quotations, than such as are taken from the Latin version, and Anselmus, the zealous advocate for the readings of the fathers, has not attempted to prove any thing further.

<sup>2</sup> Knittel, in his *New Criticisms* on 1 John v. 7. p. 335—348, is of a different opinion.



further. The superscription to the sixth chapter of his first book is, *Sanctos patres non solum in commentariis ad biblia, sed et in polemicis lucubrationibus, in homiliis, et ubicunque se scripturas citare dicunt atque ostendunt, textibus seu versionibus ac editionibus adhæsisse suis.* Men conversant with the works of the fathers can hardly be of a different opinion, and the members of the church of Rome, who are in general better acquainted with them than we Protestants, seem in general to take this doctrine for granted. But by many members of our church this doctrine is thought extraordinary, not indeed by men of real learning, but by those who without sufficient knowledge presume to enter the lists of sacred criticism. This is particularly the case in the controversy relative to 1 John v. 7. the advocates for which passage seemed dissatisfied with the answer of their opponents, that its being quoted by the Latin fathers proved nothing more, than that it existed at that time in the Latin version. They ask, by what means we can be certain that the Latin fathers quoted from the Latin version? Now this is a very extraordinary question, especially when proposed by persons, who do not pretend to have a knowledge of the fathers, and the only answer to be given is, that those who doubt the fact, should either study the fathers, and convince themselves by actual experience, or give credit to persons, who have more knowledge of the subject than themselves. But to make the matter comprehensible to those, who have never opened the writings of an ancient father, we need only appeal to the common practice of modern divines, who in their public sermons constantly quote the Bible from the versions of their respective countries, even though they are acquainted with the original itself. The same is true in regard to the commentaries, which are written by the clergy in their native languages; almost the only persons, who quote from the original, are University Professors, because Greek and Hebrew are generally known in those seats of learning, but even these, when they write in German, adhere to the translation of Luther.

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We have no reason therefore to suppose that preachers and commentators, who lived in ages in which a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was very uncommon, would pay so little regard to the understandings of their hearers, or readers, as to quote the Bible in any other, than the usual and known translation. And when mistakes had been made in this translation, it is probable that they would have reserved all corrections and emendations, to their remarks on the text, provided they had sufficient knowledge of the original: but it is certain that most of them were ignorant of Greek, and therefore wholly unequal to the undertaking. If it be asked, by what means we discover this degree of ignorance in the Latin fathers, I answer, by the study of their writings, and of ecclesiastical history. But I would recommend to those, who are capable of proposing questions of this nature, not to waste the time and attention of the public by presuming to write on controversial Divinity.

Those fathers, whose writings we possess not in the original, but only in a translation, are to be considered in the same light, as if they quoted the New Testament from the language, that was known to their translators; from the Greek, if their works were translated into Greek; from the Latin, if translated into Latin; for it was the usual practice of translators, not to render literally the quotations of their author, but to have recourse to that edition of the Bible, which was common in their respective countries. This observation applies in particular to Irenæus, whose books *adversus hæreses* exist only in a Latin translation. In this the quotations from the New Testament are perfectly correspondent to the old Latin version, as it stood before the time of Jerom, and to the quotations of the Latin fathers: and on comparing the few quotations, that are extant on the fragments of the Greek original, we find that they have readings different from those of the Latin text. The readings therefore which are collected from the works of Irenæus, refer immediately, not to the Greek but to the Latin; and when ever we find the name of this Greek father among the  
variae

*variæ lectiones*, it ought rather to be understood of his translator, that of Irenæus himself. Those passages alone are to be excepted, which are either immediately taken from the Greek fragments, or which are of such a nature as to determine from the context, what reading is found in the original. For more information on this subject, the reader may consult my late father's *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti*, § 14—18. and the *Orient. Bibl*<sup>12</sup>. Vol. VIII. p. 153. with respect to an opinion of Knittel on the Revelation of St. John.

The remarks, that have been made on the works of Irenæus, are likewise applicable to those of Ephrem the Syrian. He quoted from the Syriac New Testament, but his translator, instead of re-translating into Greek the Syriac text of his quotations, substituted the words of the original itself. I confess however that I never made a particular study of the Greek works of Ephrem: the judgement, which I have formed, is rather from a cursory examination, but, as Mill in his *Prolegomena*, § 800, 801. delivers the same opinion, it is probably not far removed from the truth. An accurate collation of the Syriac, and translated Greek works of Ephrem, with the Syriac version, can alone determine in what extent this rule is to be applied, and in what cases it admits of exceptions.

Mill and Wetstein<sup>13</sup> have given, in their *Prolegomena*, a catalogue of those fathers, from which they have selected various readings. They contain much valuable information, and are by no means unnecessary even to those, who are acquainted with ecclesiastical history, and the works of the fathers: for a man may be acquainted with their lives, and with their writings in general, without having a critical knowledge of their manner of quoting the New Testament. This subject is sometimes treated by the editors of the fathers, either in the preface, or in separate dissertations: for instance, in the first volume of the late Venetian edition of Theophylact, there is a very excellent treatise on the manuscripts of the Greek Testament,

Testament, used by that father, whose works are of very great importance in sacred criticism. But the limits of this Introduction permit me to say no more on the present subject, and my readers have perhaps on that account no loss, as the works of the fathers neither have, nor could have been my particular study, unless I had neglected matters, which were to me of more importance.

Before I close this section, I will propose a question to the learned, which seems worthy of their consideration, namely, in what manner those authors, who were natives of Syria, but wrote in Greek, quote the New Testament; whether they do not even in their Greek writings follow the Syriac version, to which they were accustomed from their childhood. To answer this question, many data must be collected, which I have not done; but I will mention two or three which at present occur to me. Porphyry quotes the reading *ἐν Ἡραίᾳ*, Mark i. 2. which is found in the Syriac version, but in very few manuscripts, as I observed above, ch. vii. § 6. But on the other hand he quotes *ἐν ἀναβασίῳ*, John vii. 8. which is not in the Syriac version, nor in the greatest number of the Greek manuscripts, but found only in a few latinizing manuscripts, in the Vulgate, and in the Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, and Forojulianus<sup>14</sup>.

#### S E C T. IV.

*Of the defects observable in the extracts, which have been hitherto made from the writings of the Fathers, and the manner, in which they are to be remedied.*

**T**HE writings of the fathers present the critic, in his researches on the text of the New Testament, with matter for many fruitful inquiries, and they deserve therefore to be collated with more accuracy and diligence, than they have hitherto been.

The following is a remarkable instance of a defect of this kind, in the editions of the New Testament with  
various

various readings. In the passage John i. 13. which occasioned the above-mentioned controversy in Italy, relative to the critical authority of the fathers, Mill refers only to his *Prolegomena*, where he had observed that the Valentinians read 'natus est;' Wetstein writes that the Valentinians read *γεννηθη*, and that the Latin Codex Veronensis has the same reading. But both these critics omit a material circumstance, which is mentioned by Anselmus, and treated by him at large, Lib. II. cap. iv. that Tertullian himself adopted it as the genuine reading<sup>15</sup>, and that it is found in the works of several other fathers. Bengel has something more than Wetstein, but not all that might be said on this subject.

Another defect is, that the critics in general, not excepting Wetstein, do not always enable their readers to refer to the passages quoted from the fathers. When only the name of the father is mentioned, or the particular book specified, without notice being taken of chapter, edition, or page, it is not in the power of the reader, unless he submits to vast labour, to examine the evidence that is produced, and to pay attention to all those circumstances, by which the authority of quotations of this kind is increased, or diminished. It would be however a piece of injustice toward Wetstein, if I neglected to mention, that he in many cases has not only quoted with all this accuracy, but has even produced the words themselves: so that he might be considered as a pattern for future critics, if he had always observed the same exactness<sup>16</sup>. It has been observed, that Mill has sometimes erroneously quoted the fathers, nor will I take upon me to assert that Wetstein is never guilty of similar mistakes, though I never met with an example.

The preceding remarks must excite a wish in the minds of those who are friends to sacred criticism, that some person qualified for the task would collect into a volume all the readings, which have been selected from the different fathers, and, in order to correct mistakes and supply defects, take the trouble to read through all their writings. A work of this kind would be of great value to future Mills and

and Wetsteins, and would also be a public archive, to which every one could have recourse in cases of doubt. The materials, that must be used by a critical editor of the Greek Testament, are so numerous and extensive, that it is hardly in the power of the same person, who collates Greek manuscripts, or ancient versions, to make extracts sufficiently copious from the works of the fathers: nor is the margin of a Greek Testament capable of containing, in addition to the readings of manuscripts and versions, such ample authorities from the fathers, as I could wish to see produced. Should any one undertake the task, which I have just proposed, I would recommend to his attention the following rules:

1. To read through with attention the writings of the fathers, as well Syriac, as Greek and Latin, to note every passage that is quoted from the New Testament, and not to satisfy himself with those texts only, which the editor had noted in the margin. Ephrem the Syrian would be one of the first authors, which should draw his attention; but there are Syriac commentators of still greater importance, whose works are preserved in manuscript in the Vatican.

2. To make use of the best edition of each father, that is, not the most splendid, the most expensive, or the newest, but the most correct edition.

3. That in an Index made for that purpose he particularly note the editions which he has used, that the reader may himself be enabled to refer to the quoted author.

4. To quote not only by book, and chapter, but likewise the page.

5. To quote, whenever it is necessary, the words themselves, with those preceding and following, that the reader, without referring to the original, may judge from the connection, whether the father actually quoted the New Testament, or only borrowed from it thoughts or expressions. Also to take particular notice, whether the father expressly declares that the sentence itself is a part of scripture.

6. Not

6. Not to render his work, that will be unavoidably voluminous in itself, still more prolix, tedious, and expensive, by long and useless observations. An opinion concisely delivered, in the manner of Wetstein, might be sometimes agreeable to the reader, who, on the other hand, could not fail of being disgusted by an ostentatious display of learning, in a work which properly relates only to simple evidence, and plain facts.

7. Whenever he omits a quotation, which had been alleged by Mill or Wetstein, that he assign his reason for so doing, in order to assure the reader that an error of his predecessors, not his own negligence, was the cause of his omitting the quotation.

8. That he distinguish by some mark those quotations from the fathers, which had been noticed neither by Mill, nor Wetstein.

Whoever should undertake the task, which I have proposed, and faithfully fulfil these conditions, would not only derive instruction himself from an useful study of the fathers, and that perhaps in his leisure hours, but would merit the thanks of the church, and deserve the rank of a Mill, or a Wetstein. If it should be thought too much for one man to undertake the whole, he might confine his attention to the Greek, another to the Latin, a third to the Syriac fathers. Men of learning, who reside in the country, and who frequently neglect the laborious paths of learning, for want of an object to rouse their attention, have here a new field that lies open to their view.

The wish expressed in the preceding paragraph, which was written some years ago, had in a great measure been gratified by Dr. Griesbach, who has made very accurate extracts from the works of Origen: and it is to be hoped that the public will be presented with the result of his learned labours.

The critical conjectures of the fathers, and the alterations, which many heretics have made in the text of the New Testament, in order to render it more conformable to their own tenets, will be examined in the following chapter,

chapter, because in such cases, both fathers and heretics are not to be considered as evidence, since they conjecture, or invent, without the support of manuscripts, or any other authority.

## CHAPTER X.

### CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

#### SECT. I.

*The question, whether critical conjecture is applicable to the New Testament, is not to be decided on theological grounds.*

IT is one of the most important, and at the same time one of the most disputed points in sacred criticism, whether what is called *conjectura critica* may be applied to the New Testament? or, in other words, whether in certain cases, and under certain restrictions, provided we use all due care and caution, we may reject the readings of all the manuscripts, versions, and fathers, and merely on a probable supposition admit a reading, that is supported by no written authority? and whether, if we proceed on these principles, we have any reason to expect, that we shall ever arrive at the truth?

Many men of learning, who undoubtedly deserve a place in the list of critics, are of opinion that conjectures are as allowable at present in the New Testament, as in the Classic Authors. Yet the greatest number of our divines considered them formerly as presumptuous, if not impious; but those very persons, who are so strenuously attached to the printed text, are not aware, as Wetstein has observed in his *Prolegomena*, that a very great number of readings, which they so zealously support, are nothing more than critical conjectures, advanced either by the ancient fathers, or by the modern editors of the Greek Testament in the



sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These readings therefore must be immediately rejected, if critical conjecture is wholly inadmissible.

Now this question is purely critical, and if we would arrive at certainty, we must argue not on theological, but on critical grounds. The argument, which is drawn from the hypothesis, that divine providence would not permit the true reading in any text of the New Testament to be lost, seems very extraordinary, when we consider the persons who have applied it. For these very men make no scruple, in imitation of Guffet, to guess at the meaning of Hebrew words merely from the context, and thereby tacitly acknowledge that divine providence has not guarded against the necessity of conjecture in the Old Testament. Why therefore should they deny that the same liberty may be taken in the New? I confess that I am not attached to Guffet's party, though it was formerly in great repute, since a man may easily conjecture, though possessed of little knowledge: and yet I cannot deny that there are several Hebrew words, of which the meaning cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. If divine providence therefore has permitted conjecture to be necessary in determining the meaning of words in the Old Testament, it cannot be inconsistent with the same providence, that conjectures should be made on the readings of the New Testament. Besides, no man can assert, that, because the true reading of any passage is no longer to be found, it is therefore totally lost, since the number of manuscripts of the Greek Testament, (not to mention other original documents) which have been actually collated, are trifling in comparison with the whole number that have been written; and a reading, which is now supported only by probable conjecture, may hereafter be confirmed by good authority.

Nor does it diminish the certainty of our faith, that some few passages of the New Testament have certain internal marks, which discover them to be not genuine, and which render it necessary to restore the true reading  
by

by critical conjecture. Our faith would then only be in danger, if the number of those passages was so very great, as to render the whole New Testament suspicious; or if the principal, and distinguishing doctrines of Christianity must be either added to, or taken from the sacred text, on no other authority than that of mere conjecture. And it must be evident to every man, that the New Testament would be a very uncertain rule of life and manners, and indeed wholly unfit to be used as a standard of religion, if it were allowable; as is the practice of several Socinians, to apply critical conjecture in order to establish the tenets of our own party. For instance, if, in order to free ourselves from a superstitious doctrine, on the supposition that the Divinity of Christ is ungrounded, we were at liberty to change, without any authority, Θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος, John i. 1. into θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, and ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, Rom. ix. 5. into ὢν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, the Bible would become so very uncertain, that every man might believe, or disbelieve, as best suited his own principles. Against critical conjectures of this kind, I shall in a subsequent section bring such arguments, as I think every candid and impartial Deist will acknowledge to be true. But, if we assume not to ourselves the power of altering articles of religion, and confine our emendations to mere matters of criticism, if we alter, for instance, ἐπερωθῆσαν, Heb. xi. 37. to ἐπερωθῆσαν, the grounds of our faith are by no means affected, nor have we reason to fear any evil consequence.

Indeed, I am apprehensive that many divines, by a too great rigour on this subject, support the cause of the enemies of our religion, who insist that the admission of critical conjecture renders faith uncertain. For, though it will appear from the following section, that critical conjecture is not absolutely necessary for the establishing of the true text of the Greek Testament, yet there are passages in the Hebrew Bible, in which we cannot well dispense with it.

## S E C T. II.

*Critical examination of this question.*

**I**N this section I will set aside all dogmatical arguments, and examine the question in point in a purely critical manner.

In ancient writings, of which only one copy is extant, critical conjecture is indispensable. For it is not to be expected, that the copyist has no where made a mistake; and the further he is removed from the age in which the author lived, the more copies in the mean time must have been taken, and of course the number of mistakes must have increased in proportion. Where there are errors therefore in this single copy, they can be corrected by no other means, than by critical conjecture. For this reason the first editors of ancient authors, at the time of the revival of learning, were obliged, where they had only a single manuscript, to make corrections in many cases according to probable conjecture: and though they have fallen sometimes into error, yet their editions would have been much less perfect, if they had not availed themselves of this liberty. Even in the present age we should act on the same principles, if we had the good fortune to discover a manuscript of those books of Livy, which are now wanting.

The necessity of critical conjecture remains the same, even where there are several manuscripts, if those manuscripts are only copies of one and the same more ancient manuscript: for those copies, with all their deviations from each other, represent to us only a single manuscript.

Both of these cases take place in regard to Tacitus, as Ernesti has shewn in the preface to that author, in the two first leaves of the sheet, that have the signature B. Critical conjecture therefore is absolutely necessary in the writings of Tacitus. Ernesti has several useful remarks on this subject, which I with my readers would consult, because they would elucidate the subject in question.

They

They are of importance in the criticism of the New Testament, provided any part of it comes under the above description.

If we have more than a single copy of any work, and those copies are transcripts of different and distinct manuscripts, the necessity of critical conjecture decreases in proportion to the number of copies: but it does not entirely vanish, unless the number of the manuscripts is very considerable. For an erroneous reading may have been so widely propagated, as to have found admission into many transcripts: and the true reading may be discoverable in none, some having one erroneous reading, others another.

We have no reason therefore to censure the critics of the sixteenth century, if in their editions of the Greek Testament they have sometimes departed from the readings of their manuscripts, and substituted in their stead such as were agreeable to probable conjecture. Erasmus of Rotterdam, when he published his first edition of the Greek Testament, had very few manuscripts: of the Revelation, in particular, he had only one, and we cannot suppose therefore that he was in possession of all the genuine readings. Luther likewise, in his translation of the New Testament, admitted critical conjecture, rendering *Ταβία*, Acts ix. 36. by 'Tabia,' according to a supposition of Reuchlin. It is true that this conjecture was erroneous: but another alteration, which in his time was mere conjecture, or at best was only supported by the Vulgate, namely his translation of *απαταις*, 2 Pet. ii. 13. as if it were *αγαναις*, has been since confirmed by the authority of manuscripts. That Luther had actually seen manuscripts with this reading, as Saubert\* conjectures, is very improbable, when we consider that in the place where he resided, no manuscripts were preserved, and the consultation of manuscripts was foreign to Luther's plan of study. This at least is certain, that he often applied critical conjectures in the Old Testament, which have been supported by no authority whatsoever.

\* *Variae lectiones Matthæi*, p. 35. 36. 38.

soever. After the publication of the editions of Erasmus, of the Complutensian edition, which was likewise taken from written copies, and that of Robert Stephens, with various readings from fifteen manuscripts, the necessity of critical conjecture was considerably diminished; and more caution was requisite in the admission of a new reading, if, as the number of manuscripts increased, it could be found in none of them. Yet the number of collated manuscripts was at that time so small, in comparison with that which we have at present, the extracts were so few, and so imperfect, and the ancient versions, if we except the Latin, were so little known, that we have no right to censure an editor of that age, for assuming to himself the right of critical conjecture. If Colinaeus<sup>2</sup> therefore, and Beza<sup>3</sup>, have inserted in the text of their editions, readings which they found in no manuscript, and which were supported only by critical conjecture, they were in very different circumstances from those in which we are at present: for we have not only ten times as many witnesses for or against a reading, as they had, but we have examined them with much greater accuracy; and the assertion of Wetstein, that modern critics have the same privilege as those of the sixteenth century, is not wholly agreeable to the truth. Nay, even that, which I should consider as allowable to Erasmus Schmid<sup>4</sup>, who collected the materials for his Greek Testament in the beginning of the seventeenth century, though it was not published before the year 1658, would be unwarrantable in a critic, who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

For the probability, that critical conjecture alone can restore the true reading, decreases in the same proportion as our materials of criticism, or collections of various readings, increase. And since so many manuscripts, works of the fathers, and ancient versions made in distant countries, and in different periods, have been carefully collated; since also those very ancient Latin versions, that vary so considerably from each other, and

were

<sup>2</sup> See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 153.

were translated from very different Greek manuscripts, have been made known to the public, we might doubt whether critical conjecture ought not at present to be entirely rejected.

Yet the right of critical conjecture has been supported, even in the present age, by several warm, and even learned advocates. However they have not felt, and of course not answered the objection, which I have made in the preceding paragraph: they have too much attended to theological objections; or they have too hastily drawn conclusions from principles, that are applicable only to writings, of which there are but a few manuscripts, to the criticism of the New Testament, of which we have a very copious collection of various readings. The most celebrated advocate for the right of critical conjecture is Wetstein, who has delivered his sentiments on this subject, p. 854—858. of the second volume of his *Greek Testament* \*.

All things, however, considered, I would not undertake to banish conjecture entirely from the criticism of the New Testament. I feel very strongly the weight of one of Wetstein's proofs, though he has not given it the whole force of which it is capable. He says, p. 855. however inimical the clergy have been to the use of critical conjecture, they have not been able themselves to refrain from alterations in the sacred text, which are supported by no authority; and adds, *cum ventum ad verum est, ratio moreque repugnant*. Now the practice of the ancient theologians, and fathers, which he alleges in support:

\* He says, p. 855. *Quæro quæ via is, cui codices alios consulere non licet, scire possit, quid aut a prima manu scriptum, aut postea immutatum sit, nisi ex ingenio, conjectura, &c.* Now it is true, that if we had only one manuscript, or one edition of the Greek Testament, that critical conjecture would be admissible; but Wetstein himself has taken care that we should not be in this situation. In his edition alone we can consult the readings of above a hundred manuscripts; and it is a matter of great doubt, whether in that case we are at liberty to alter the text from mere conjecture. All his arguments in favour of the contrary opinion, which I have not leisure at present to examine separately, are weakened at once by what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs \*.

port of his argument, does not appear to be of great weight; for those ancient writers were not in possession of such a collection of various readings as we are. And yet there are certain passages in the Greek Testament, in which I can hardly refrain from the use of critical conjecture, in opposition to the authority of all our written documents; some of which passages the reader will find in my Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>b</sup>. If it is asked, why I would admit in those cases the right of critical conjecture, in opposition to written authority? I answer, because the text itself, after all the pains which have been bestowed on it, still seems to be sometimes faulty, or at least to be capable of an alteration, that would be more suitable to the context, and better adapted to the design of the writer. For instance, I cannot read Rom. viii. 2. without supposing that the Apostle wrote, *ο γαρ νομος τῶ πνευματος ΚΑΙ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ηλευθερώσει με ἀπο τῶ νομοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τῶ θανάτου*, because the antithesis would be then complete, and a sense would be expressed that is suitable to the design of the Apostle. In short, it appears to me, that there are some few passages in the New Testament, which, in the language of criticism, are called *loci affecti*, passages, in which we have hitherto been able to derive no assistance, either from manuscripts, fathers, or versions, and which demand therefore the aid of critical conjecture.

It is true, that the great number of manuscripts brought from different and distant countries, together with the numerous ancient versions, may be alleged as a weighty argument against its admission: for it might be urged, that they would hardly be all erroneous in one and the same passage, and that one and the same mistake should have been made in each is certainly not to be expected. But we must recollect, that not a single manuscript is now extant, that was written in the four first centuries, and that the ancient versions have not descended to us without alterations. It is likewise evident from the writings of the fathers, that many readings were in those

<sup>b</sup> For instance, Heb. xi. 37. xii. 25.

those times in the Greek manuscripts, which are at present to be found in none<sup>c</sup>, or only in a very few<sup>d</sup>; having been altered either by accident, or because they appeared to the transcribers to be obscure, or exceptionable. It is therefore not impossible that other readings, which have not been preserved in the works of the fathers, or in the Greek manuscripts, may have been equally lost; and among them perhaps some that were genuine. Besides, it is not impossible that there are many important manuscripts of which we have no knowledge, and that a collation of those manuscripts might confirm the critical conjectures of the eighteenth century, in the same manner as many conjectures of the sixteenth century have been confirmed in the eighteenth, by the authority of manuscripts, and ancient versions.

What I have said against critical conjecture, is not applicable in an equal degree to all the books of the New Testament, and not at all to the Revelation of St. John. For of some books we have fewer transcripts than of others, and of the Revelation we have the fewest of all. In this book therefore it is the most probable, that the text stands in need of critical conjecture.

Likewise in other books of the New Testament, there are cases, in which it is difficult to refrain from using the same liberty. The conjecture of Casaubon, that the  
reading

<sup>c</sup> For instance, *now* before *Βασιλεως* Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. See ch. vi. sect. 11.

<sup>d</sup> For instance, John i. 18. *ο μονογενης θεος*, a reading which we find in the quotations of the ancient fathers, and in the ancient versions, and which was probably the common reading in the first centuries. But at present it is found in only two manuscripts, namely, in the eighth of Stephens's manuscripts, and in one of them, which belonged to Colbert. Yet it is a reading which conveys a good sense, and is agreeable to the other expressions used by St. John. The eternal Son of God, whom he had before called God, might not improperly be termed *ο μονογενης θεος*. Though it is a bold expression, it is not contrary to the rules of the strictest grammar: and in the same manner as the Jews called the true God 'the first-born of the world' (*בכור של עולם*), and Christ himself is called *ο πρωτοτοκος*, Heb. i. 6. so might St. John have ventured to use the expression *ο μονογενης θεος*.



reading of Luke i. 39. should be *εις πολιν Ιστη*, and that of Valla, who proposed to read, Acts ix. 7. *θεωροντες μεν το φως, μηδενα δε ακουοντες*, are so probable, that I cannot avoid acceding to them. And the first editors of the Greek Testament so sensibly felt the impropriety of the reading *υιος η βεε*, Luke xiv. 5. that they unanimously inserted *ονος*, though they found it in not a single manuscript. It is true that they had the authority of the Vulgate, but even there the alteration had probably been made from mere conjecture<sup>\*</sup>.

To what has been already observed on this subject, may be added a remark, which gives a new turn to the inquiry, and entitles us to the use of critical conjecture. Namely, it is probable, that all our manuscripts, and versions of the New Testament, were taken, not from the single copies of the Gospels and Epistles, which proceeded from the hands of the Apostles themselves, but from the collection, that was formed of the several parts of the New Testament. We are in the same situation, therefore, as that which I described above, in speaking of the works of Tacitus, nor would this situation be altered, even if, instead of two hundred and ninety-two manuscripts, which I enumerated in the sixth section of the eighth chapter, we had above a thousand. For they would still be transcripts of one and the same copy: and if this copy had any errors, which it would be the highest presumption to deny, these errors must have been transmitted into every manuscript of the Greek Testament whatsoever, and these errors can be remedied only by the aid of critical conjecture. See the remarks which were made on the publication of the Greek Testament, ch. vi. § 2. of this Introduction.

It appears then, that a collection of critical conjectures may be of great use in establishing the genuine text of the

\* One manuscript of the old Latin version has 'filius,' others have 'asinus,' which last reading has been adopted in our present Vulgate. That it is an alteration from conjecture is the more probable, because the Codex Cantabrigienfis has another alteration, viz. *ωρεατα*, which is certainly mere conjecture.

the Greek Testament : and it is likewise attended with this particular advantage, that we are led by it to examine manuscripts, and other original documents, with greater accuracy, in order to see whether those readings, which had no other support than conjecture, may not be established by written authority ? For we know from actual experience, that this has been the case with several readings : a conjecture of Laurentius Valla, relative to Acts ix. 7. has been confirmed by the Ethiopic version : and having once proposed myself, in my public lectures, to read *αλαλαξαι* for *αλλαξαι*, Gal. iv. 20. I was reminded that Griesbach had produced this reading from his Codex 66.

A collection of the kind, which I mentioned in the preceding paragraph, has been published by Bowyer, a learned printer in London. The first edition appeared in 1763, under the title, *Conjectural Emendations on the New Testament*, collected from various authors, and was added as a supplement to Bowyer's edition of the Greek Testament, in which the editor mentioned in the title-page only the initials of his name. The second edition was published in 1772, with considerable additions, which edition was translated into German by Professor Schulz, and much improved by the learned translator. The third edition, with still greater improvements, was published in London in 1782. This is a work which is classical in its kind, and to which the remarks of future critics will probably be annexed.

### SECT. III.

*The propriety of critical conjecture considered à posteriori, and from its application to particular examples.*

THE objections, which may be made à priori to the use of critical conjecture, though they appear plausible on the first view, have been fully answered

in the preceding section. But an examination of the various conjectures which have in different ages been proposed by men of the first eminence, and been almost universally adopted, will teach us to be very cautious how we apply it ourselves. Of several hundreds, which Bowyer has produced, there is hardly one, which, after an impartial examination, will be found probable. Most of them are the result of hurry, ignorance, or at least a want of knowledge in matters which have been since placed in a clearer light; and they have nothing else to recommend them but a quality, which is always to be suspected in the art of criticism, that of being more easy and intelligible to common readers, and of being devoid of that roughness, which characterizes the genuine readings of the Greek Testament. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that there are some few, which bear on them the marks of probability. The matter being thus circumstanced, it is evident, that too much care cannot be taken in the admission of critical conjectures into the text itself. Where ancient critics have taken this liberty, modern critics contend that they have injured the text. I will therefore mention a few instances, that the reader may be able to judge for himself\*.

Of all the fathers, no one was so well qualified by his learning for making critical conjectures as Origen; and no one has ventured to go further. One of his conjectures relates to the following texts, Matth. viii. 28. Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 26. on which he writes as follows, in his Commentaries on St. John, Tom. VI. ‘Whoever would perfectly understand the sacred writings, must not think that a minute attention to proper names is of no importance. For mistakes in proper names are to be found in the Greek manuscripts, of which the following is an example. It is related by the Evangelists, that the country, where the swine were driven by the devils into the sea, was the Land of the Gerasænes (χωρα των Γερασηνων). Now Gerasa, which is a city of Arabia, has neither lake

\* The latter part of this section may be considered as an appendix to chap. vi. sect. 11.

lake nor sea near it : and it is impossible that the Evangelists, who were well acquainted with Palestine, could have made so palpable a mistake. Some of the manuscripts have τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν, but Gadara, which is a city in Judæa, is also at a distance from any lake, or sea. But Gergesa, which gives name to the country of the Gergesenes, is an ancient city on the lake of Tiberias ; and near to it there are steep rocks, which hang over the sea, where at this very day the place is shewn, from which the swine fell<sup>1</sup>. On this relation of Origen may be made the following remarks :

1. Origen considers it as certain, that all the manuscripts, with which he was acquainted, were in some places erroneous.

2. It is his intention to confirm this opinion by an example, which to him appears to admit of no doubt. Yet this very example is an argument against Origen, and against the use of critical conjecture.

3. The reading Γεργεσηνῶν, which is that of our common printed editions, he found in no manuscript ; for all his manuscripts, and that in all the three Gospels, had either Γερασηνῶν, or Γαδαρηνῶν. The reading, therefore, Γεργεσηνῶν, which is generally found in our manuscripts, can be ascribed to no other cause, than the conjecture of Origen.

4. His reason for rejecting Γαδαρηνῶν was, because there was no sea near Gadara. But this is not sufficient ground for rejecting the reading. For Gadara, which he places in Judæa, a name that he probably uses to signify all Palestine, was, according to the accounts of Josephus \*, the capital of Peræa ; and from this town the whole of the adjacent country, as far as Galilee, was called Γαδαρίς †. The country of Gadara, therefore, extended as far as the sea of Tiberias, into which the swine fell : and, as the Evangelists relate not that Christ came to Gadara, but only into the country of the Gadarenes, or, in other words, that he crossed the sea of Tiberias,

\* Bell. Jud. Lib. IV. cap. vii. § 3.

† Bell. Jud. Lib. III. cap. iii. § 1.

Tiberias, and landed on the eastern shore, it is of no importance, whether there was a sea near Gadara itself, or not. Origen therefore might have permitted this reading, which he found in a few manuscripts, but which we have only in the Syriac version, to remain.

5. It is equally unimportant, whether there was a sea near the city Gerasa, which lay on the other side of the Jordan; near the river Jabbok; for the reading Γερασινων, does not imply that Christ came to the city Gerasa, but only to the country of the Gerasenes. Now it appears from the accounts of Josephus \*, that Gerasa was a large fortified town, and that it gave name to a certain district, in a part of which a fort was built of the name of Ragaba †. Now Ragaba, or as it is written in Hebrew, Argob, was fifteen Roman miles to the West of Gerasa: and Reland, in his *Palæstina*, p. 959. observes, that the land of the Gerasenes extended a great way to the Westward, a circumstance necessary for the understanding of the New Testament. It is not improbable, therefore, that the land of the Gerasenes bordered, in some places, on the lake of Gennesareth; and it is not manifest that Γερασινων, as Origen asserts, is absolutely a false reading. In fact, we have no concern with the city of Gerasa, in inquiring into a reading, which relates only to the country at large, which derived its name from the city. In Arabic, Gersh (جرش), signifies the Land of Gilead. See the *Supplementa ad Lex. Heb. Num. 421*.

6. The alteration of the text to Γεργεσινων, Origen grounded on no other authority, than that a place near the city of Gergesa was still shewn, at that very time, where the swine fell into the sea. Now every one, who knows the impositions which have been practised on travellers through Palestine, in pointing out to them the scenes of actions recorded in the sacred writings, must wonder that so learned and so sensible a man as Origen, could alter the text of three Evangelists, merely on such a tradition.

7. Still

\* Bell. Jud. Lib. I. cap. iv. § 8.

† *Απεδωκεν εν τω Γερασινω ορει ποταμο γων Ραγαβα φρουρον εγγα τε Ιορδανου*

7. Still further: it is possible, if not probable, that the name of Gergesa did not exist in the time of Christ and his Apostles. This suspicion must certainly arise in the mind of every man, who has attentively read the works of Josephus. This historian was perfectly well acquainted with Galilee, and the whole country bordering on the Jordan, not only as being a Jew, but as having commanded a body of troops, with which he had traversed the country by night and by day; and yet it does not appear that he knew of any such land as that of the Gergesenes. In the first book of his Antiquities, chap. 6. § 2. after having mentioned the nations of Canaan, described in the tenth chapter of Genesis, he proceeds, 'but of the other seven, the Hetites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Gergesenes, the Eudæans, the Sinites, and the Zemarites, we have nothing remaining, but their names, which exist in the sacred writings<sup>a</sup>, because the Hebrews have raised their cities to the ground.' Besides, it appears from Joshua iii. 10. that the Gergesenes dwelt on this side the Jordan, not on the other side, where the event in question is recorded to have happened.

It is certain, therefore, that Origen had no solid reasons for altering the text, or for supposing that the same error had crept into three different passages of the New Testament, and that this error was retained in all the Greek manuscripts, which he was able to procure. If *Γεργεσηνων* had been the true reading, it is hardly possible for it to have been expunged from three different Gospels.

I will mention another instance, which relates to John i. 28. Origen found, as he says, in almost all his manuscripts, or, if we may judge from what follows, in every one of them without exception<sup>b</sup>, this verse thus written, 'these things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.' But Origen rejected this reading for the following reason: "As I have been

<sup>a</sup> I understand the words of Josephus, as if stopped in the following manner, Πάντων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις, ἡδὲν εἶχεσθαι.

<sup>b</sup> This at least is Wetstein's opinion, though the words of Origen do not necessarily imply it.

been in that country, in order to trace the footsteps of Christ and his Apostles, I am persuaded, that we ought not to read Bethany in this passage, but Bethabara. For Bethany, as the Evangelist himself relates, was the birth-place of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, and only fifteen stadia from Jerusalem; but the Jordan was at least, to speak in round numbers, a hundred and ninety stadia from that city. Nor is there any city whatsoever of the name of Bethany near to that river. But there is a city of the name of Bethabara on the banks of the Jordan, where it is said, that John baptized<sup>4</sup>."

Here again Origen grounds the reading, which he has substituted for Bethany, on no other authority than the relation of such persons as conduct travellers to the places in Palestine which are mentioned in the sacred writings. These persons either had no inclination to conduct Origen to the Bethany which lay on the other side of the Jordan, as the journey might have been attended with danger, on account of the tribes of wandering Arabs which infested that country; or they were wholly ignorant of the place. Not to lose therefore their profits arising from conducting strangers, they shewed Bethabara to Origen, as the place where John baptized, and the learned father was credulous enough to believe them.

Now his objections to the common reading entirely vanish, as soon as we examine the text itself, and inquire into the real state of the case. Origen says, that Bethany lay near Jerusalem, and therefore at a distance from the Jordan. But it may be asked, whether there was not more than one city of that name; and whether we must necessarily suppose that the city in question was the place where Lazarus resided? It appears even from the expression used by St. John, that, whether we read Bethany, or Bethabara, there was more than one city of the name, which he mentioned: for if any man should say, 'these things were done at Frankfort on the Oder,' every man, even without a knowledge of Germany, would conclude, that there was some other town of the same name, from

which the former was distinguished by the addition of an epithet. In the same manner, when St. John speaks of Bethany beyond Jordan, we must suppose that there were two cities of that name, and that the city which he meant was different from that, which was situate on the mount of Olives. But Origen says that there was no town of the name of Bethany on any part of the Jordan. Now we might reply, that Origen hardly visited all the towns on the banks of the Jordan, and that, like other pilgrims, he probably took the route, which was pointed out by his guides; or that the wars between the Jews and the Romans had so desolated, and so altered the face of the country, that many towns might have existed in the time of John the Baptist, of which no traces remained in the days of Origen. But this answer is unnecessary, for the Evangelist uses a very indeterminate expression, he says that the place, where John baptized, was on the other side of the Jordan, an expression which by no means implies that the town lay on the banks of that river; for it might have been situated either on the Jabbok, or on some other stream considerably to the eastward, where John had a sufficient supply of water for the purpose of baptizing. The alteration, therefore, which was made by Origen, was wholly without foundation.

Jerom, though he was a man of profound learning, changed ΒΕΛΛΕΒΛ, which he found in all his manuscripts, into ΒΕΛΛΕΒΕ, for no other reason than because he did not understand the common reading. That which he has substituted has been approved by several critics, has been adopted in the Vulgate, and thence transferred to Luther's translation; but the alteration was wholly unnecessary, as the reading ΒΕΛΛΕΒΛ is highly applicable to the prince of the devils, as may be seen in the Supplementa ad Lex. Hebraica, Num. 268.

Luther adopted the conjecture of Reuchlin Ταβια for Ταβθα, Acts ix. 36. But at present no man would support it, who knows that מְבִיתָא is a good Chaldee word, the status emphaticus of מְבִיתָא.



To mention only one more example of critical conjecture. Several critics have thought the following passage, το γὰρ Ἀγὰρ Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, Gal. iv. 25. so very extraordinary, that they have attempted to alter it from mere conjecture, as may be seen in Bowyer's Critical Conjectures. But no man, who knew that the Arabic word Hagar (حجر) signified a rock<sup>1</sup>, could think of making an alteration in this passage: for it is obvious that το Ἀγὰρ in the neuter cannot signify the woman Hagar, and St. Paul has not been guilty of a grammatical error, since the passage must be translated 'the word Hagar denotes mount Sinai in Arabia.' This remark I made many years ago in my notes to the epistle to the Galatians: and the collector of the Conjectural Emendations has likewise a similar remark, it being his usual practice to mention those objections, which may be made to the proposed amendments. A conjecture of Dr. Semler, relative to the latter part of the epistle to the Romans, was noticed in the Gottingen Review for 1768, N<sup>o</sup> 30. and combated on the same ground, as Professor Schulz, who had not seen that number, has taken in his edition of Bowyer's Conjectures, p. 385—397. The agreement between the arguments used in both of those works is remarkable.

The foregoing specimens are sufficient to shew how unnecessary critical conjectures are in general in regard to the New Testament: and, as most of them are of the same stamp, it would be useless to produce any other examples.

#### S E C T. IV.

*Some critical conjectures proposed by the author<sup>s</sup>.*

I HAVE said above, that there are certain passages in the New Testament, in which I can hardly refrain from venturing a critical conjecture. I will mention a

few

<sup>1</sup> See the Supplementa ad Lex. Hebraica, p. 498.

few examples, because they may tend to illustrate the preceding sections; and if, since the time that any one of them occurred to me, I have found reason to alter my opinion, I will add that this or that conjecture is unnecessary. The number of them is but small, because I have never sought for them, and have only noted those, which seemed to force themselves upon me.

In St. Matthew's Gospel I have only one, namely, ch. xxviii. 16. where I would read *οι δε ενδεκα ΚΑΙ οι μαθηται*. Likewise Triller's Conjecture, *ιδε ειπεν υμιν* for *ιδε ειπον υμιν*, v. 7. of the same chapter, is extremely probable. My reason for this opinion I have given in the History of the Resurrection, p. 118, 119. 324. But the first of these readings may possibly be ascribed to the negligence of the person, who translated St. Matthew's Gospel.

Mark xiv. 69. *η παιδισκη*. This reading implies that it was the very same maid, who, v. 67. has accused Peter of being a companion of Christ; and it contains an evident contradiction to Matth. xxvi. 71. *ειδεν αυτον αλλη*. It may be asked then, whether *παιδισκη* was never written without the article, I will not appeal to the Ethiopic and Coptic versions, which have 'another maid,' because this reading might have been substituted, in order to avoid the above-mentioned contradiction. Likewise in the English version, though it was certainly made from an addition, in which *η παιδισκη* stood, has not 'the maid,' but 'a maid.' The question is, whether my conjecture can be confirmed by the authority of no manuscript.

Mark xvi. 8. *εδενι εδεν ειπον*. Ought we not to read *εδεν ειπον*? See the History of the Resurrection, p. 135.

Mark xvi. 14. *ανακειμενοις αυτοις τοις ενδεκα*. Has no manuscript *ανακειμενοις αυτοις ΚΑΙ τοις ενδεκα*? This reading would perfectly correspond to Luke xxiv. 36.

Luke vi. 29. *απο τε αιροντος σε το ιματιον και τον χιτωνα μη κωλυσης*. Ought not the order of these words to be inverted, and the passage written, *απο τε αιροντος σε τον χιτωνα και το ιματιον μη κωλυσης*? The position of *χιτων* and *ιματιον* would then correspond to their position, Matth. v. 40. and the passage could be more easily explained

plained from the laws of the Jews, as I have shewn in the Mosaic Law, Sect. 148. N° 3. But I acknowledge that the alteration is not absolutely necessary, for Christ might have used both of these expressions; and St. Matthew have observed that arrangement, which was most intelligible to a Jew, St. Luke that which was most intelligible to a foreigner; or St. Luke himself, for want of sufficient knowledge of the Jewish law\*, might have inverted these expressions, in which case the present reading must be ascribed, not to a copyist, but to the author himself.

Luke ix. 10. The word *αντικρυ* seems to have been omitted after *εις τοπον ερημον*, ‘to a desert place, opposite to a city, which is called Bethsaida.’ See Mark vi. 45.

Luke xi. 36. This verse would be more intelligible, if we inserted the article *το*, and read *ει αν το σωμα σε ολον φωτεινον, μη εχον τι μέρος σκοτεινον, εσσι φωτεινον το ολον*<sup>k</sup>. The meaning of the passage would then be, ‘if in consequence of one perfect eye thy whole body is light, take care that the whole, that is, the whole man, body and soul, become light.’ The eyes give light to the body, but that, which Christ calls light, shall enlighten, or give true knowledge to the whole man.

Luke xii. 15. *οτι εκ εν τω περισσευειν τινη η ζωη αυτη ειν εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτω*. It may be asked, whether St. Luke did not write *οτι εκ εν τω περισσευειν τινη η ζωη αυτη ειν, ΑΛΛ’ εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτη*, that is, ‘we live not from that, which is superabundant, but from that, which we really enjoy, or from that which we employ in food, raiment, &c.’ See Horace’s Satires, Book I. l. 45.—64. Even without making an alteration in the text, we might give it the same sense, provided we inserted a comma after *ειν*.

Luke xxiv. 12. It seems to me that something is here wanting, relative to the appearance of Christ to Peter, which

\* See the Mosaic Law, Vol. III. p. 49—51.

<sup>k</sup> Or without the insertion of the article *if*, instead of *ολον*, we read *ολεον*, the soul, or reason, for Suidas explains *δλεον* as synonymous to *φρονημα* and *υγιες*.

which is recorded 1 Cor. xv. 5. and which St. Luke himself mentions, ch. xxiv. 34. My reason for this opinion is given in the History of the Resurrection, p. 191—193.

John vi. 21. *ηθελον εν αυτον λαβειν*. This is a contradiction to the relation of the other Evangelists, who say that the disciples actually took Christ into the ship. Perhaps St. John wrote *ηλθον εν αυτον λαβειν*. This conjecture would be allowed in profane writers, who had been eye-witnesses of the same fact; and no reason can be assigned why it should be refused to the sacred writers, when they appear to be at variance with each other.

John xvii. 10. *δεδοξασμαι*. Ought it not to be written *διδοξασμαι*, the paulo post futurum? The sense would then be 'I shall soon be glorified through them:' for Christ was at that time not yet glorified in his Apostles.

Acts ix. 16. *υποδειξω αυτω*. An alteration in this passage occurred to me before the publication of Bowyer's Conjectures, in which a similar amendment is proposed by some one who signs himself R<sup>6</sup>. As the two conjectures are not precisely the same, and yet have a great similarity to each other, I will mention that which occurred to me, as it is always a presumption in favour of a conjecture, when two different critics write independently of each other, and yet propose the same amendment. The alteration which occurred to me was *υπεδειξα αυτω*, and in my public lectures I have explained the passage as follows: non tam vexavit ecclesiam meam, quam, me ita rem moderante, alios vexans vidit, quid debeat ipse aliquando pro me pati. Non nova illi erunt, quorum exemplum in aliis præivit.

Acts xvi. 26. *και παντων τα δεσμη ανηθη*. This passage is very suspicious, and seems to be one of those interpolations, with which the Acts of the Apostles have been particularly disfigured. It is possible that doors may be broke open by an earthquake, but it is hardly possible that the fetters of prisoners should be loosed, at least not without wounding the persons who wore them. And, what is likewise extraordinary, not only the fetters of Paul

and Silas are loosened, but also those of the other prisoners; yet not one of them makes his escape, though they had hardly been imprisoned, like St. Paul, for virtuous actions: nay, many of them were perhaps under sentence of death.

Acts xxviii. 16. *της σκαφης*. The article is here, in my opinion, very suspicious: for this reading implies that they had before let the boat into the sea, and had afterwards great difficulty in reaching it. This is improbable, because 1. No reason can be assigned, why they should have let it down into the sea in a storm. 2. If they had let it down into the sea, they would have been able to draw it up again, unless we suppose, what is contrary to reason, that they had let it entirely loose. 3. Supposing the boat to have been loosed, it does not appear that the circumstance of the ship's being near the island has any connection with the recovery of this boat. I would therefore omit the definite article, and explain the passage, 'Being near an island we fought for help, but could not procure a boat to our assistance.'

Rom. i. 4. In this difficult passage it appears to me that the conjunction *και* is wanting, and that we ought to read *κατα πνευμα αγιωσυνης ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ*. According to this reading Christ would be called the son of God for two reasons, 1. in consequence of his eternal divine nature, 2. on account of his resurrection from the dead. This conjecture is however not absolutely necessary, as the difficulty may be removed by pointing the sentence in a manner different from the present, which I shall shew in the chapter relating to that subject. It may be observed also, that commentators have taken for granted that *πνευμα αγιωσυνης* signifies the eternal Godhead, without any authority, or arguments drawn from the analogy of the Greek language.

Rom. vii. 24. *εκ της σωματος της θανατος ταυτης*. Has no manuscript these words in an inverted order, namely, *εκ της θανατος της σωματος ταυτης*?

Rom. vii. 25. *ευχαριστω τω θεω*. It may be asked whether St. Paul did not write *ευχαρις τω θεω*, and de-

sign to express the following sense, euge! gratia Dei me a morte hujus corporis liberavit per Jesum Christum dominum nostrum.

Rom. viii. 2. A conjecture relative to this text I have proposed in the second section of this chapter.

Rom. ix. 12. *καλυντος*. Ought we not to read *λαλυντος*?

Rom. ix. 16. This verse seems to be wrong placed. See chap. vi. sect. 10. The transposition of this verse was the first cause, which led me to suspect, that our manuscripts of the epistle to the Romans were not taken immediately from the original, which St. Paul sent to Rome, but from the collection of sacred writings, which was formed after the death of the Apostles.

Rom. ix. 22. *εἰ δε*. Ought not this to be written *ιδε*, as we often find the two expressions exchanged by mistake? But I will not insist on the alteration, as the common reading is not devoid of meaning.

Rom. xv. 12. *αρχειν εθνων*. See ch. v. sect. 4.

I Cor. iv. 1. *ετως λογιζεσθω ημας ανθρωπος*. The word *ανθρωπος* is here unsuitable to the context, and the word 'man,' used in the sense of 'every man,' does not sound like genuine Greek. The sense would be better, and the language more pure, if we read *ουτως λογιζεσθω ημας ανθρωπων*: that is, 'we are men, like other men, not lords of the church;' or, let all men consider us as men, as their equals, who have no other superiority than that of being servants of Christ.

I Cor. viii. 10. *οικοδομησεται*. The phrase 'his conscience will be edified to eat things offered to idols,' is so very extraordinary, that many critics have here suspected an error in the Greek text. I am of the same opinion, and venture a new conjecture, which consists merely in the alteration of Δ to Ν, two letters which transcribers frequently exchange. I would alter them *οικονομησεται* to *οικονομησεται*, and explain the passage, 'his conscience will be seduced to eat of things offered to idols,' or 'his conscience will be guided by thine, and in compliance with your example (*κατ' οικονομιαν*, as the fathers would express it) eat of things offered to idols,'

or, 'he will conceal his real opinion (for συνιδῆσις may be taken in this sense) and through dissimulation eat of things offered to idols.' I prefer the last explanation. The fathers frequently use οἰκονομία in this sense: for instance Chrysostom, in his remarks on Acts xxi. 20, 21. says of St. Paul, ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν συγκαταβῆναι ἀναγκαζόμενος ἰεραίζειν. Ἀλλ' ἔχι τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ γενο-  
μενον ἦν. It may be asked however, whether this use of the word οἰκονομία is as ancient as the time of St. Paul. There is something like it, Psalm cxi. (or cxii.) 6. οἰκο-  
νομήσει τὰς λόγους αὐτῆς ἐν κρίσει, and Dr. Lef's has found several examples in profane authors, namely, Epicteti Diatrib. III. 14. Marcus Antoninus. Lib. IV. 51. XI. 18. The conjecture, which I have here proposed, derives a very high degree of probability from a case that is exactly in point. The common text of 3 Maccab. iii. 22. is οἰκονομημένων, but in the Codex Alexandrinus, the N is exchanged for Δ, and the word is written οἰκοδομημένων<sup>7</sup>.

1 Cor. xiv. 10. γενῇ φωνῶν. Did not St. Paul write γενῇ ἐθνῶν?

1 Cor. xv. 1. γινώριζω. Has no manuscript γινώρισα, which I would take interrogatively, and render the passage, opusne est ut evangelium meum vobis narrem?

1 Cor. xv. 27. δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτός. What St. Paul here says is perfectly true, but it is difficult to comprehend with what design he says it. Was it probable that any one should suppose, that the father was included within the expression, 'all things, which were to be obedient to the son?' The sense would be better expressed, if we read ὅτι Μὴ ἐκτός, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ὑποταξάμενός.

2 Cor. i. 17. ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐκ. Here the alteration which Bowyer mentions, as proposed by some person who signs himself R, namely, ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ναὶ οὐκ, καὶ τὸ οὐκ ναὶ, had not only occurred to me as probable, but as absolutely necessary. We may say of a man who speaks the truth, that his yea is yea, and his no, no. See Matthew v. 37. and James v. 12. with Wetstein's notes to these passages. So on the contrary, we must say of a man who violates the truth, that his  
yea,

yea, is no, and his no, yea. Mr. Trefchow, in answer to some questions which I had proposed to him, wrote me word in a letter, dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1771, that in the Codex Vindobonensis 34, this passage has been altered, though it seems that the correction is not very clear.

2 Cor. i. 24. *οτι κυριευομεν υμων της πισεως.* I suspect the authenticity of the word *πισεως*, for we may conclude from the expression *πειδομενος υμων*, used in the preceding verse, that St. Paul did not usurp an authority over the faith of the Corinthians; and yet it might be argued that the Apostles had really authority over the faith of the Christians in general, since the precepts, which the Apostles delivered, were the rules, by which they were to regulate their lives and manners. The whose passage would be easy, if we omitted the superfluous words *της πισεως*, since a man, who has authority over the actions of others, may very properly use the expression 'to treat them with clemency.'

2 Cor. v. 10. *τα δια τε σωματος:* Every one knows the difficulty attending these words. Instead of *δια*, the Vulgate expresses *idia*, having *ut referat unusquisque propria corporis*. Now it is not improbable that both of these readings are genuine, and that St. Paul wrote *να κομισηται εκασος τα ιδια δια τε σωματος, προς α επραξει.* And if the original, as I really believe, was *ΤΑΙΔΙΑΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ*, it was easy in the hurry of copying for transcribers to overlook the letters that occurred twice, and for one to write *ΤΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΥ*, another *ΤΑΔΙΑΤΟΥ*. On this hypothesis, therefore, our different copies contain different fragments of the same genuine reading. If our present manuscripts of the second epistle to the Corinthians are transcripts taken originally from two ancient copies, one of which had the first, the other the second of these errata, it is easy to conceive how the different readings arose; why we have only fragments of the genuine reading; and why different transcribers have in later times made different alterations in this passage in order to make it intelligible, whence have arisen several various readings to this passage.



2 Cor. v. 18. *τὸ κατὰλλαξαντος ἡμᾶς*. It may be asked, whether no manuscript has *ὑμᾶς* instead of *ἡμᾶς*? This reading would be better suited to verse 20, and we should then have the same antithesis, as in the 19<sup>th</sup> verse.

2 Cor. vi. 1. Here I suspect the authenticity of the word *συνεργοντες*, because I cannot ascribe to it any sense, that is not wholly superfluous. I would read *συνεργοντες παρακαλεμεν*, instead of *συνειργοντες παρακαλεμεν*, coarctantes, cogentes hortamur, we exhort you most earnestly.

Gal. iii. 20. I doubt whether this difficult verse proceeded from the hands of St. Paul. It has almost the appearance of an objection, which some one had written in the margin, and which by degrees crept into the text. The verse is at least superfluous.

Phil. ii. 13. *ενεργειν*. Bowyer has collected several conjectures in regard to this passage; but there is an alteration which has not been proposed, though it appears to me to be the easiest, namely, *ευεργειν*. An amendment is however not absolutely necessary, and I only propose a less difficult reading, for one that is more difficult.

Heb. viii. 3. *ο προσενεγκη*. This reading seems to be erroneous; for, though it is true, 'that a priest, who offers gifts and sacrifices, must have somewhat to offer,' it is still an assertion, that is wholly unnecessary. Besides, the verse which immediately follows, relates not to offerings, but to the place, where they were made. I would read therefore *ω προσενεγκη*, or *ου προσενεγκη*.

James i. 19. *ωσε*, or, according to a various reading, *ισε*. It may be asked, whether *εσε* be not the true reading?

1 Pet. i. 6. 8. *αγαλλιασθε*. Has no manuscript *αγαλλιασεθε*?

1 John ii. 20. 27. *χρισμα*. I do not consider this reading as absolutely spurious, and yet whenever I read this obscure passage, it always occurs to me that the true reading is *χρησμα*, which may be taken in the same sense, as Suidas ascribes to *χρησμος* and *χρησμον*, namely, that of oraculum.

oraculum. It is not impossible that the error was in St. John's own autography, and that in consequence of the Itacism I was written for H.

Rev. xiv. 17. *εχων εξουσιαν επι τῷ πυρὶ.* Here I am unable to comprehend what connection there is between the office of the angel described in this verse, and power over fire; or why the angel, who has power over fire, should give the orders to gather the clusters of the vine. If the subject related to the angel, mentioned v. 15, 16. who gave the orders for the harvest, I should make no scruple to alter *επι τῷ πυρὶ* to *επι τῷ πυρὶ*. But at present I would propose either *σπυρας*, or *πυρρῶν*, taking the last of these words in a Hebrew sense. The neuter *πυρρῶν* used substantively, corresponds to the Hebrew *יִצְהָר*, and may signify the red juice of the grape. This unusual, rough, and Hebraic application of *πυρρῶν*, is very suitable to the general style of the Revelation. Nay, if instead of *πυρὶ*, I found *πυρρῶν* with a double ρ, in only a single manuscript, I should not hesitate to adopt that reading, because the use of the nominative instead of other cases is a construction, which we frequently find in the book of Revelation.

If it be asked, whether any of the preceding conjectures have been confirmed by the authority of manuscripts? I answer—not one: though several of my pupils, particularly Mr. Treschow, have noted them down, and examined manuscripts on their literary travels for that very purpose. This is the more remarkable, because several conjectures, which I had made in the Hebrew Bible, have been since confirmed either by manuscripts, or ancient versions. It ought to serve as a warning to critics, not to be too forward in making conjectures in the New Testament: though it may be said on the other hand, that, if errata were in the copies, which were used by the person, who collected the several parts into a volume, it would be impossible to find in any manuscript now extant a confirmation of our conjectures. But I would still recommend to every man of learning, who has an opportunity of travelling, and of examining  
manuscripts

manuscripts of the Greek Testament, to take with him a list of such conjectures, as appear to be the most probable, and consult the passages, in order to see whether that, which is at first hypothesis, cannot be confirmed by some authority.

I was formerly of opinion, that no books of the New Testament were so much in need of critical conjecture, as those written by St. Luke: but I have since abandoned that opinion, having observed that other parts of the New Testament, for instance the epistle to the Romans, are equally in need of emendation. Besides, St. Luke in those instances, where he differs from the other evangelists, may himself have committed mistakes, as he was not an eye-witness of the facts which he relates: and such examples we must not ascribe to a copyist. It is true, that the printed text of no book of the New Testament is so erroneous, and so interpolated, as that of the Acts of the Apostles, for instance ch. viii. 37. 39. ix. 5, &c. but these interpolations are not owing to the manuscripts, for they do not contain them; but they were inserted by Erasmus, chiefly on the authority of the Vulgate; and what he interpolated has been faithfully copied by later editors. It may be also observed, that the original collector and editor of the books of the New Testament, had probably less correct manuscripts of some, than he had of others.

## S E C T. V.

### *Of theological conjecture.*

**B**ESIDE the critical conjectures, which I have described in the preceding sections of this chapter, there is another kind of conjecture, which can hardly be referred to the same class. It consists in altering the text of the sacred writings, according to the maxims adopted by any particular party, whether it be the ruling, or the persecuted party, in the church. This species

species of conjecture I would denote by the name of theological conjecture, Now a theologian, whose business is to form his whole system of faith and manners from the Bible, cannot with any propriety assume previously any system of theology, by which he may regulate the sacred text; but must adopt that text, which is confirmed by original documents, and thence deduce his theological system. It is allowable to venture a conjecture in matters relating to history, to dates, or to names, for in these cases the Bible is not our only principium cognoscendi. But whoever alters the text in subjects, which relate to points of divinity, evidently presupposes a principium cognoscendi, that is prior to the Bible itself: and when we inquire into this principium cognoscendi, we find it to be nothing more than a set of principles, which this or that particular person has thought proper to adopt. If we ask, from what source they derive these principles? they answer, from reason. Now I readily admit that reason is a principium cognoscendi prior to Revelation: but then I am of opinion, that if a set of writings, which we suppose to have been revealed by the Deity, are really contradictory to sound reason, we ought not to endeavour to reconcile them by inserting new readings without any critical authority, but at once reject those writings, as an improper standard of faith and manners. Even the writings of a false prophet might be new modelled, so as to make them consistent with the truth: and if these liberties are allowable in one case, they are allowable in others. We shall then have no good ground for rejecting the Koran, because it contains principles contradictory to reason, but must likewise endeavour to rescue the works of Mohammed from the objections, which have been made to them, by altering the exceptionable passages. Besides, what we call reason, and by which we would new model the Bible, is frequently nothing more than some fashionable system of philosophy, which lasts only for a time, and appears so absurd to those, who live in later ages, that they find it difficult to comprehend, how rational beings

ings can have adopted such ridiculous notions. The example of the Gnostics, who likewise attempted to model the Bible according to what they called reason, shews the truth of this observation more clearly, than any arguments which can be produced.

There is an infinite difference between the inserting of a reading into the text, without any authority whatsoever, in order to render it, as we suppose, more rational, and the preferring, of two readings which really exist, that which is most conformable to truth. The latter is not only consistent with equity, but with justice, in profane authors, as well as in the Bible; since we ought always to presuppose, that a writer has rational principles, till the contrary has been shewn.

It will be objected perhaps by those, who defend theological conjecture, that we ought never to lose sight of the *analogia fidei*. Now I will be candid enough to understand by these words, not the tenets of any particular sect or party, and will take the objection in the following sense, namely, that if two passages in the Bible contradict each other in matters of faith, the one must be altered. But how shall we determine, which of the two is to be altered? For instance, if there is a real contradiction between Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24. shall we alter the text of St. Paul on the authority of St. James, or the text of St. James on the authority of St. Paul? In my opinion we should alter neither, but reject the whole as not coming from the Deity, if it be true that there are real contradictions, for it is upon this ground, that we condemn the Koran. But we must recollect, that not every apparent contradiction is a contradiction in reality: and, before we presume to make an alteration in the text, we must examine whether the passages, that are seemingly at variance, may not be reconciled by a proper explanation. On a cursory inspection there seems a manifest contradiction between the two above-mentioned passages, Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24.; yet we should act very absurdly, if we sought for a remedy in theological conjecture, since the whole contradiction vanishes,

vanishes, as soon as we reflect that St. Paul understands faith in Christ, St. James faith in the unity of the God-head<sup>1</sup>.

Perhaps it will be objected, that there are contradictions sometimes found in the Old Testament, between the books of the Chronicles and other historical books, and that no sensible critic makes any scruple to correct one from the other. But the two cases are not parallel; for there is a very wide difference between the alteration of a date, in which it is so easy to make a mistake, and the alteration of a point of doctrine. And even in the former case, it is not so much critical conjecture, as an improvement on the masoretic text founded on the authority of ancient versions and manuscripts, which still retain a great part of the antemasoretic text.

As critical conjectures have been principally made by those, who, in the language of the church, are termed heretics, I will invent one or two examples of the same kind in the name of the orthodox, and ask those of the opposite party, whether they would admit them as lawful conjectures. For instance, suppose I should alter *οτι ο πατηρ με μειζων με εστι*, John xiv. 28. to *οτι ο πατηρ με εστι, οτι οτι ο πατηρ με ζων μεν εστιν*, in order to be freed from a text that implies an inequality between the father and the son; or if I should read 1 John v. 20. in the following manner, *ετος ο υιος εστιν ο αληθινος θεος*, in order to shew more distinctly the Divinity of Christ; I think the heterodox would exclaim, "he is either extremely ignorant, or by having recourse to such miserable artifices acknowledges the badness of his own cause." But the heterodox, as well as the orthodox, must appear before the impartial tribunal of criticism, where there is no respect to persons, and where it is not allowed for one party to take greater liberties than the other.

It is certainly possible that a book may be so very ancient, and the manuscripts have so many spurious readings, that even points of doctrine may have been either  
lost,

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction to the epistle of St. James in the second part of this work.

lost, or perverted, and without any other hope of recovery, than the help of conjecture. But if this should happen to a work, that contains a divine revelation, it would be a certain sign of its being obsolete, and no longer to be used as a principium cognoscendi. The New Testament, however is not in this situation, for we can judge of its readings with as much accuracy at present, as a thousand years ago.

I acknowledged in the section relative to critical conjecture, that the person who collected into a volume the several parts of the New Testament, probably made use of copies, that were not wholly free from mistakes; and that these mistakes would of course be transmitted into all the subsequent copies. There may be erroneous readings therefore in the New Testament, which can be rectified by no manuscript whatsoever. But this can hardly be the case with any text, that relates to a point of doctrine: for, as this collection was published, while single copies of each individual book, especially of the epistles, were still in circulation, it is certain that, if in this edition of the Greek Testament any point of doctrine had been given erroneously, the text would have been rejected as spurious; or it would have given rise to a marginal note, though less important deviations were left unnoticed, and of these marginal notes some traces would still remain in the form of various readings. Besides, what is a very material circumstance in the present inquiry, the Christian church has been from the earliest ages divided into opposite parties; and one party would surely have taken care to restore the ancient and genuine reading, wherever the other party had introduced a false one. Nor let us forget that the alterations made by Marcion, who had travelled through many countries, and had inspected various manuscripts, are for the greatest part preserved at this very day. Now, as Marcion was much better qualified for theological conjecture, than we are, and no man has applied the principle with less reserve, I think it would be presumption in the present age to mangle any passage, which he has spared.

Theolo-

Theological conjecture has been principally used by those, who were not members of the ruling church<sup>8</sup>; by Marcion and his followers, by the Valentinians, by Lucian \* &c. But the ancient fathers, though they were partial to their own doctrines, and of two readings preferred that which best suited their own purpose, do not appear to have invented new readings for the sake of propagating particular tenets. It is true, that Augustin in his ninth epistle to Jerom writes as follows: ‘When any passage in the canonical books appears to be contrary to the truth, we must conclude either that the manuscript is faulty, the original falsely translated, or the words of the translation falsely understood.’ Now the two last inferences may be more readily admitted than the first; for the way to examine, whether any manuscript is erroneous, is not to compare the precepts, which it contains, with other doctrines, but to collate its text with that of the other manuscripts. But Augustin here speaks of Latin manuscripts, not of the Greek original; manuscripts which had a very faulty and corrupt text.

I have acknowledged that many of the fathers in their choice of different readings have acted partially, and have adopted those which suited their own party. But that has no connexion with the present inquiry, which relates to the invention of new readings, not to the choice of those which already exist. It cannot however be denied, that several orthodox transcribers have ventured to insert their own conjectures into the text: but in general they have not been admitted as genuine, and wherever they are found, it is the duty of every critic to erase them.

Several Socinians have applied theological conjecture to passages, which clearly prove the Divinity of Christ; of which I have given two instances at the end of the first section of this chapter; the one relates to John i. 1. and was made by Crell, the other to Rom. ix. 5. and was made by Schlichting and Crell. But Wetstein, though no friend to the doctrine of our Church in regard to the Divinity of Christ, was too good a critic to admit either

of

<sup>8</sup> See Mill's Prolegomena, § 306—340.



of these conjectures. Dr. Bahrdt goes a step further, and in his German translation of the New Testament has rendered John i. 1. as if the original was *καὶ θεὸς ἦν καὶ ὁ λόγος*, for which translation he has promised to assign his reasons in his intended commentary. If he attempts to explain the common text so as to give it that sense, he does the utmost violence to language: but if he means without any authority to insert *καὶ* in the text, as it is generally supposed, he gives an example of theological conjecture of the first magnitude.

The only plausible argument, which an advocate for theological conjecture might use, not so much indeed to convince himself of the justice of his cause, as to perplex his opponents, is the following; namely, that the New Testament has been so corrupted by the ruling party, which calls itself orthodox, that the genuine doctrine of Christ and his Apostles is no longer to be found in it. But there is not the least room for a suspicion of this kind, as we have so great a number of manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writings, in which the New Testament is quoted, of every age and country. And even those, whose religious principles are different from our own, contribute their share in proving the certainty of the New Testament. Even if we admit that the orthodox had made the attempt, and had endeavoured to annihilate those manuscripts, of which they disapproved, yet some copies would surely have escaped the flames: and those, who are called heretics, would hardly have made their translations from such manuscripts, as had been wantonly corrupted by their opponents. In the ancient Latin versions, that were made before the time of Jerom, some traces would still remain of the passages, which the orthodox had erased. But, though in the old Latin versions we often find readings, that differ from the later vulgate, we never meet with passages, which orthodox zeal could wish to expunge.

The passages, which afforded the most perplexity to the members of the ruling church, are still extant in manuscripts, versions, and editions of the New Testament:

ment : whereas the spurious passage 1 John v. 7. though the orthodox seem to think it of the utmost importance, has never had the good fortune to find admittance into any ancient Greek manuscript, or ancient version, such as the Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Russian; and old Armenian, though later editors have taken the liberty to interpolate the passage in the printed editions of the Syriac and Russian.

If the orthodox have totally and irrecoverably corrupted the sacred text, whether original or translation; if they have annihilated all the genuine manuscripts of the New Testament from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean, from the South of Egypt to the extremity of Britain, it must have been the work of an universal combination, and the bishops as well of the Parthian as of the Roman empire must have united, in order to execute so vast a project. But if this œcumenical council had ever existed, which in itself is highly improbable, some traces of it would still remain in the annals of the church: for the orthodox themselves would have boasted in their writings of the meritorious act of having rescued the sacred text from the corruptions of heretics.

## CHAPTER XI.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHORS, WHO  
HAVE COLLECTED VARIOUS READINGS TO THE  
GREEK TESTAMENT.

1. **L**AURENTIUS VALLA, a learned Roman, who was born in 1417, and died in 1467, published in the year 1440 *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*. It has been mentioned above ch. viii. sect. 6. under the article *Codices Laurentii Vallæ*.

2. Cardinal Ximenes, under whose patronage the Complutensian Polyglot was published, will be mentioned in the following chapter; and also

3. Erasmus.

d d 2

4. Jacobus

4. **Jacobus Faber Stapulensis**, or according to his French name **Jaques le Fevre d'Estables**, a native of Estables in Picardy, collated in the year 1512 the text of St. Paul's épistles with five Greek manuscripts. He published in 1521 *Commentarii initiatorii in Evangelia*, and afterwards *Commentarii in epistolas catholicas*, in which he sometimes examines the various readings. See *Simon Hist. crit. des versions du N. T. ch. xxi. p. 239. Hist. crit. des commentateurs du N. T. ch. xxxiv. p. 489.* and *Bengel's Introductio in crisin N. T. p. 438<sup>1</sup>.* **Jac. Lopes de Stunica** wrote against him, as well as against **Erasmus**.

5. **Emser**, the great antagonist of Luther, deserves a place in the present catalogue, at least as being a singular example. The German Protestants have neglected his writings, because he was their adversary; those, who had critical knowledge, still thought that Emser had nothing worthy of their particular notice, while the Catholics in Germany, who had a better opinion of him than the Protestants, were themselves no critics: and learned foreigners know nothing of Emser, because he wrote in German. I will therefore be more particular in my account of him, in order that materials, which have hitherto lain unnoticed, may be brought into use. The remarks of **Saubert** in his *Variæ lectiones Matthæi* p. 37, 38. first led me to the examination of this subject, and I am able to speak with certainty in regard to several things, on which **Saubert** could only conjecture, as he wrote before the publications of **Mill**, and **Wetstein**.

**Emser**, who was a man of real learning, for the age in which he lived, appeals in his remarks on Luther's New Testament not only to the Vulgate, but likewise to the Greek text, even in places, where the editions of that age all coincided with Luther. He must therefore have found these readings in Greek manuscripts: for he has certainly not invented them, as appears from the circumstance, that several have been actually found in those Greek manuscripts, to which **Emser** might easily have had access.

In his remarks on Luke xi. 2, 3, 4. the readings of which passage I will denote by the letters a, b, c, d, e, he says, 'Luther has here again deviated from the words of the Evangelist, and written more than is warranted by the Latin or the Greek text. For we find not in these (a), 'our father,' but only father: neither do we find (b), 'in heaven:' nor (c) 'thy will be done:' nor (d) 'give us every day our daily bread,' but 'give it us to day<sup>m</sup>:' nor at the end, (e) 'but deliver us from evil;' all of which is neither in the Greek text, nor in our own.' I know not what edition of the Greek Testament Emser used; but it is certain that none of these five readings, which he produces as Greek, has been quoted by the collectors of various readings from any edition of the Greek Testament, that existed in the time of Emser. I will not express myself more positively on this head, because I have not examined all the editions of that age: but the first edition by Erasmus, and the Complutensian, coincide with Luther's text. Emser therefore must have had Greek manuscripts, unless we suppose that he transgressed the bounds of truth, which we have no reason to believe, because all these five readings have been since found in the Greek manuscripts, that were then used by the German literati, namely, a, b, c, and e, in the Codex Capnionis, or Cod. Basil. B. vi. 27. which in my catalogue of MSS. is N° 38, and d (σημερον) in the Codex Basil. B. VI. 25, which in my catalogue is N° 39. Both of these manuscripts were used by Erasmus, though he has adopted none of these five readings; and it is not impossible that he communicated them to Emser, as instruments for attacking Luther. At present these readings are confirmed by the authority of other documents, and several critics, who were by no means attached to the church of Rome, for instance Grotius, Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, have preferred four of them to the common Greek text, which Luther translated. I am likewise of opinion, that Emser was not mistaken in saying

<sup>m</sup> He means to say that the Greek is not το καθ' ημεραν but σημερον.

ing that St. Luke has given the Lord's prayer in a more concise manner than St. Matthew.

Here then Emser has not been guilty of a falshood, though he was suspected by the writers of the sixteenth century: and I have found him in general so cautious in quoting the Greek text, that I believe he has never done it without authority. He makes no mention of the Greek text in 1 John v. 7. but says only, after quoting the words of the Vulgate, that the passage had been erased by those who were not favourable to the doctrine of the Trinity.

We have reason therefore to conclude, where Emser has produced readings as taken from Greek manuscripts, that those readings actually existed, even though we know of no manuscripts at present, in which they are found. He observes on Rev. xix. 5. that Luther has translated 'Praise God, all ye his servants,' and adds, that both the Latin and the Greek texts express 'Praise God, all ye his saints.' He found therefore in the former *omnes sancti ejus*, in the latter *πάντες οἱ ἀγιοὶ αὐτοῦ*. This reading as hitherto been found in no Greek manuscript, for which reason Mill and Wetstein have not quoted it at all, and Bengel has given it only as a various reading of the Vulgate. Now it is not in the common editions of the Vulgate, but I have found it in the Latin text of the Complutensian New Testament, and my father in his manuscript notes to Mill's Greek Testament has observed, that it is likewise the reading of Ludwig's, or the Halle manuscript\*. Mill and Wetstein therefore should have quoted it, at least as a various reading of the Vulgate. It is true, that Wolf and Bengel have quoted it in this manner, but they have done it with no other view than to convict Emser of a falshood: but they would have acted with more propriety if

\* Goeze in his full and complete Defence of the Complutensian New Testament, p. 292. observes that it is also found in some of the editions of the Vulgate, namely, the Basel edition of 1494, the Paris edition of 1507, the Lyons edition of 1520, and that published at Nuremberg in 1529.

if they had confided in Emser's honesty, and selected all the readings which he has quoted, especially in the Revelation of St. John, of which we have so few manuscripts that Beugel himself complains of a deficiency\*.

It might be therefore of use in sacred criticism, if the various readings, which Emser has quoted, were selected, and inserted in our general collection. If his readings are already known from Greek manuscripts, Emser must be considered only as a second evidence: but, where they are not known from other documents, they augment our critical store, which we should endeavour to make as complete as possible.

6. Robert Stephens has been mentioned ch. viii. § 6. and a further account will be given of him in the following section.

7. Beza will likewise be mentioned in the following section.

8. Joachim Camerarius published in 1572, a commentary on the New Testament, a great part of which is critical, under the following modest title, *Notationes figurarum sermonis*<sup>2</sup>. In this work he frequently speaks of the readings, which the Latin translator had found in his original, and sometimes quotes readings from Greek manuscripts: and he particularly commends an ancient

\* Goeze, in the work mentioned in the preceding note, p. 290—293. contends that Emser took all his readings from the Vulgate, and after having produced an instance of an extraordinary interpretation, which Emser had given of a Greek passage, concludes with asking whether, it was possible that a man of that description could have read Greek manuscripts. Now I admit that he had not sufficient critical knowledge to be able to make a proper use of them: yet he might still have been able to read them, especially modern manuscripts, the characters of which were not materially different from our common types.

Panzer likewise in his History of the German translations of the Bible made by Catholics, p. 20. contends that all the readings quoted by Emser are to be found in the Vulgate. This is certainly true: but Emser confirms them also by the authority of the Greek text; and as he considered it as a fault in Luther, that he departed from the Vulgate, it is not extraordinary that he quoted those readings only, which were found in the Latin version.

ancient manuscript of the Gospels, which had been described above, chap. viii. sect. 6, N° 58. Likewise in the other books of the New Testament, he often says, the Greek copies read so and so, but he does not particularly specify the manuscripts. Many of the extracts, which he made from the Vulgate, are wanting in Wetstein's collection, a circumstance, which gives the work of Camerarius, even at present, a critical value.

9. Franciscus Lucas Brugenfis, who was engaged, among others, in the publication of the *Biblia regia* at Antwerp, is the first person to whom we are indebted for a regular collection of various readings to the New Testament. He published in 1606, *Commentarii in quatuor evangelia*, to which he annexed *Notæ ad varias lectiones editiones Græcæ evangeliorum*. His great diligence, and sound judgement, are highly extolled by those, who are judges of his writings. See Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1300.

10. The conjectures relative to several readings of the New Testament, which Joseph Scaliger, and Isaac Casaubon, men in other respects of great eminence in the republic of letters, made in their *Remarks on the New Testament*, published in 1622, are of no great importance in sacred criticism. The opinion which Mill has given of them in his *Prolegomena*, § 1301, is perfectly just.

11. Peter Faxard, Marquis of Velez, has been mentioned chap. viii. sect 6.

12. Caryophilus has been mentioned in the same section, under the article *Codices Barberini*.

13. Patricius Junius was the first who collated the *Codex Alexandrinus*: he likewise made extracts from the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, and published the Gothic version, as I have mentioned above in treating of those subjects. He ventured to make an hundred and fifty conjectures in different passages, but Wetstein, though no enemy to critical conjecture, approved of none of them<sup>p</sup>.

14. The immortal Hugo Grotius, in his *Annotationes* in

<sup>p</sup> See p. 170. of his *Prolegomena*.

in *Novum Testamentum*, frequently speaks of various readings : and he was the first person, who published the extracts, which Junius had made from the *Codex Alexandrinus*. But it is to be lamented that this uncommonly learned man has himself never made use of Greek manuscripts ; a circumstance, which if not absolutely certain, is at least highly probable from his frequent recourse to supposed abbreviations, which have never been found in any manuscript, in order to account for the origin of different readings. See *Mill's Prolegomena*, § 1359—1368.

15. J. Morinus, in his *Exercitationes ecclesiasticæ et biblicæ*, undertook to shew that the Greek text was in the highest degree corrupted ; and that the only method of restoring the true text was to have recourse to the Latin version. Many of his arguments are extremely frivolous : for instance, in proof of his position, he appeals to the great diversity of the Greek manuscripts, as if there was not the same diversity in the Latin manuscripts. See *Mill's Prolegomena*, § 1318—1337. and *Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T.* p. 345.

16. The celebrated Archbishop Usher partly collated himself, partly had collated by others, fifteen manuscripts of the Greek Testament. The readings, which were selected from them, were printed in the *London Polyglot*, but in part only : Mill however procured from Usher's grandson, James Tyrrell, the original manuscript of these extracts<sup>1</sup>, and inserted them more completely in his edition.

17. Brian Walton will be mentioned in the following chapter, and also,

18. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford.

19. John Saubert published at Helmstädt, in 1672, *Variæ lectiones textus Græci evangelii S. Matthæi*. As this book is so scarce, that some eminent critics have been unable to procure it<sup>2</sup>, I shall be excused, if I am  
more

Mill was unable to procure it, as he himself says in his *Prolegomena* ; nor could Missy find a copy of it, when engaged in the controversy relative to the *Codex Ravianus*.



more prolix, than I otherwise should be, in its description.

Simon in his *Hist. crit. du texte du N. T.* chap. xxix. p. 342. highly extolls this work, but Wetstein, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 174. describes it as a work of little value. Now I confess that I have read this book not only with pleasure, but with real advantage; and even if it contained nothing more than what is known at present to critics in general, the author would still be entitled to the thanks of his countrymen, for having published a re-impression of the various readings annexed to the London Polyglot. Saubert has displayed real learning, and solid judgement, though he was deficient in critical taste, a quality which was less common in those days, than at present. For instance, he thought it not improper, or useless, to select various readings from modern versions, though he does not appear to have undertaken the task himself: nor was he able to form a proper estimate either of the *Éditiones principes* of the Greek Testament, or of the value and antiquity of the Greek manuscripts.

His various readings to St. Matthew's Gospel are drawn from manuscripts, versions, and printed editions. Those drawn from manuscripts, he has almost entirely taken from the London Polyglot, with exception to the *Codex Ravianus*: the Syriac version he himself collated with great accuracy; he collated also the Russian version, and he has sometimes quoted that of Luther. But, for want of knowing that Luther very frequently followed the text of the Vulgate, he falsely conjectured that, where Luther departed from the common Greek text, he went on the authority of Greek manuscripts. Saubert made likewise some few extracts from Sebastian Münster's Hebrew Gospel. Of the editions, which he has quoted, I will mention only that of Brylinger, because other critics have given no extracts from it. He has also the Velefian readings. In some passages, for instance Matth. xxvii. 9. we find ingenious critical disquisitions. From the 265<sup>th</sup> page, to the end, are various readings, which he himself selected from a manuscript

script of Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew, preserved at Helmstädt, and from Commelin's edition of these Homilies. It appears therefore that this publication of Saubert contains materials, which might have been of use to Mill and Wetstein: but Mill was unable to procure it, and Wetstein thought it of no value.

20. Father Amelotte published in 1666, a French translation of the New Testament, which Simon, in his *Histoire critique des versions du N. T.*, ch. xxxii. and xxxiii. describes at length. To this translation he annexed those readings of the Greek manuscripts, which agree with the Vulgate: but he not only discovers an insupportable vanity\*, but is guilty of a very shameful plagiarism, in pretending to have collected these readings from Greek manuscripts, when he has literally copied them from the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. Simon, in his *Histoire critique du texte du N. T.*, ch. xxix. has taken notice of some curious mistakes, which Amelotte has made in decyphering the abbreviations which are used in the Polyglot for the Greek manuscripts. For instance, he has converted the 'manuscripts preserved at Magdalen College in Oxford,' into 'manuscripts preserved in the college of Magdeburg in Oxford.'

21. Richard Simon has eminently distinguished himself, with respect to the readings of the New Testament, both

\* He writes in the preface, *J'ay apporté une diligence, dont on n'avoit point ouy parler jusqu' icy, pour montrer la conformité du Latin avec le Grec ancien, et avec le premier original. J'ay fait une exacte recherche de tous les manuscrits d'au dessus de mille ans, qui se conservent dans tout la Chrétienté, et j'ay obtenu des extraits de tous. J'en ay eu plus de vingt de la France; tous ceux du Vatican, et des célèbres bibliothèques d'Italie; seize d'Espagne, sans compter les autres, dont le Cardinal Ximenes s'estoit servy pour donner la perfection a sa bible d'Alcala, ceux, d'Angleterre et des pays du Nord, et beaucoup du fond de la Grece, avec ceux de chacun des anciens peres.* One of his colleagues, to whom he shewed his preface before he printed it, advised him to use a more modest language; but Amelotte replied, that it was necessary to speak in an elevated strain, in order to make impression on his readers.

both by his *Histoire critique du texte, des versions, et des commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, and his translation of the New Testament, to which he has annexed various readings. His *Histoire critique* not only discovers extensive learning, and solid judgement, but is likewise written in a very agreeable manner. Simon may be almost termed the father of modern criticism.

22. Laurent. Alex. Zacagni published at Rome a collection of various readings, which Pfaff, in his *Dissertatio de variis lectionibus*, p. 112. has much commended; and he has expressed his surprise that Mill made no use of it.

23. John Mill,

24. Ludolph Küster,

25. Maistricht, and

26. Bengel; will be mentioned in the next chapter.

27. John Christoph. Wolf made it a part of his principal object, in his well-known *Curæ critico-philologicæ*, to treat of the various readings of the Greek Testament, and to confute those, which deviate without reason from the common text. But this very learned writer seems to have carried the matter too far, though in other respects he has given us a most excellent and valuable work. For he has sometimes no other argument to oppose to a reading supported by the authority of numerous Greek manuscripts, than that the Apostle has in other places used the expression, or construction, which he defends; but it is more reasonable to suppose that one passage had been corrupted from the other. In the latter part of the *Curæ* he takes particular pains to confute Bengel, but the truth seems to be, in most cases, on the side of that eminent critic. In short, he was determined to vindicate the readings of the common editions of the Greek Testament, whenever he had the least to offer in their defence.

28. Bentley will be mentioned in the following chapter.

29. Christ. Benedicti Michaelis *tractatio critica de Variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis et dijudicandis*, Halæ 1749. If I may permitted, without transgressing

gressing the rules of propriety, to speak of the merits of a work, of which my father was the author, I am of opinion that the origin of the various readings is very clearly and fully ascertained in this excellent treatise \* ; that he has thrown a totally new light on the manner of applying the Oriental versions to the criticism of the New Testament, and corrected many errors, which were unavoidable to Mill, and others, who had no knowledge of the Oriental languages, and were therefore obliged to rely on the Latin translations, which are annexed to them in the Polyglot Bibles.

30. Dr. Semler, in his Exposition of the several books of the New Testament, has made verbal criticism one of his principal objects.

31. The merits of Treschow, and

32. Hwiid, in regard to Greek manuscripts, and various readings ; have been already mentioned chap. viii. sect. 6.

33. The editions of Griesbach, and

34. Matthäi ; will be mentioned in the following chapter<sup>†</sup>.

## CHAPTER XII.

### OF THE EDITIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

#### SECT. I.

*Critical review of the principal editions of the Greek Testament.*

**A**MONG the persons, who have distinguished themselves by their critical enquires into the text of the Greek Testament, the principal editors deserve to be mentioned in a separate chapter. By the principal editors I understand those, who have offered something new to the world ; for it is not my intention to take notice

\* See § 3—8.

notice of such editions, as were merely copied from others. The original editions of the Greek Testament may be produced as evidence in favour of a reading; and they may be considered as manuscripts of a moderate age, when the editors made use of manuscripts, which are either unknown to us, or have never been collated. For this reason the Complutensian edition, and those of Erasmus, are generally quoted among the various readings: but it is less necessary to quote more modern editions, especially if they were taken from former editions, or if the manuscripts, that were used by the editors, have been afterwards collated, and produced as evidence. But in selecting readings from printed editions, great care must be taken not to produce such, as have arisen from an error of the press. They are easily distinguished by those, who are acquainted with the history of the editions of the Greek Testament, and know from what ancient edition each modern one was taken; and it may be observed in general, that no word, which has the appearance of being an error of the press, ought to be quoted as a various reading, unless it can be confirmed by the authority of some manuscript. Lastly, we must be careful not to confound the readings, which some editors have inserted on mere conjecture, with those which they actually took from written copies.

I will not undertake to determine the degree of accuracy, with which the extracts have been made from the printed editions. Mill, Bengel, and Wettstein, have bestowed great pains upon this subject: but those, who have since collated single editions, have found a number of various readings, which they had omitted.

For the sake of brevity, I shall make no mention of those authors, who have described the editions of the New Testament, and shall only beg my readers to have recourse to Mill, Bengel, and Wettstein. The best literary information of this subject is to be had in the *Memoirs of a Library in Halle*, where all the editions here mentioned are described, and many others.

1. The first place must be assigned to the *Biblia Polyglotta*

glotta Complutensia<sup>2</sup>. We are indebted for it to the celebrated Cardinal, Statesman, and General, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, who published it at his own expence. Of this exceedingly scarce and celebrated edition, a description is given in the third chapter of Breitinger's Prolegomena to the Septuagint<sup>3</sup>. It is highly extolled by Mill, and as much depreciated by Wetstein. In the second edition of this Introduction, I endeavoured to steer a middle course between their opposite opinions, though I believed on the authority of Wetstein, that the editors, actuated by religious zeal, had materially altered the Greek text from the Vulgate. At that time I was unable to judge for myself, because the Complutensian edition was not then in our University Library; and though I had once borrowed, from the Electoral library in Hanover, the volume, which contains the New Testament, it was for a totally different purpose. Goeze, in his Defence of the Complutensian Bible, printed at Hamburg in 1765, the same year, in which the second edition of this Introduction appeared, was the first writer who enabled me to form a proper judgement of that work. And I was thoroughly persuaded, that I had too closely adhered to the opinion of Wetstein, from the following publications by the same author, 'Complete Defence of the Complutensian Greek Testament, with a collection of the principal differences between the Greek text, and the Latin text of that edition,' printed in 1766, and the 'Continuation of the Defence of the Complutensian Greek Testament,' &c. published in 1769<sup>4</sup>. These are books, which every one ought to read, who would form a proper judgement of the Complutensian Polyglot, for I know of no work, in which it is so fully described. At present the Complutensian Bible is in our library, for which it was purchased by order of the late Münchausen; and I am therefore enabled to speak of it in this edition with greater certainty. I have made particular use of it in the Greek version of Genesis, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the first book of the Maccabees; and in these books

books I have found its readings as pure, and as little altered from the Latin, as Goeze had described them.

Ximenes, the celebrated Cardinal, and archbishop of Toledo, who in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, conducted the Spanish armies with so much success against the Saracens, and administered the government of Spain for Charles the Fifth with the greatest dignity and prudence, appears to have had no intention of propagating biblical literature among the laity and the unlearned. Indeed his principles were quite the contrary, for when it was proposed to translate the Bible into Spanish, in order to convert the Saracens, he opposed the design, and was of opinion that men might become Christians without reading the Bible. Yet he still deserves the thanks of the learned, and he has the merit of having first proposed and executed a Polyglot Bible. The editors, at the end of the preface, address their readers, that is the literati, in the following manner. Vos autum, literarum studiosi hoc divinum opus noviter excusum alacri animo suscipite; et si Christi Optimi Maximi sectatores videri vultis, et esse, nil jam restat quod causemini, quominus sacram scripturam adeatis. Non mendosa exemplaria, non suspectæ translationes, non inopia textus originalis: solum animus, et propensio vestra expectatur. Quæ si non defuerit, fiet proculdubio ut literarum divinarum suavitatem degustanes reliqua studia omnia contemnatis. In this manner did the editors write, under the patronage of a zealous catholic Cardinal, only a short time before the Reformation: for it appears from the subscription at the end of the Revelation, that the work was finished the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 1514. But doubts were started by the church of Rome, whether it was proper to bring it into general circulation: for though the whole Polyglot was finished the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1517, it was not before the 22d of March 1520, that Leo X. gave permission for its publication; and the copies were not distributed to the world at large before the year 1522, so that Erasmus

mus could make no use of it in his three first editions of the Greek Testament.

The persons, to whom the Cardinal intrusted the care of this publication, were *Ælius Antonius Nebrissenfis*, *Demetrius Cretensis*, *Ferdinandus Pintianus*, and *Lopez de Stunica* \*. He spared no expence, either in procuring manuscripts, or in recompensing the editors for their trouble. But whether the editors displayed a proportionate degree of diligence, learning, and critical fidelity, is a subject, on which the learned are much divided; nor can it ever be reduced to a certainty, because we have no knowledge of the manuscripts which the editors used. They themselves give a very imperfect account of them, and this account I have printed in the eighth chapter of this introduction, under the article *Codex Vaticanus*. One might conclude from their account, that all the manuscripts, which they used, had been sent from Rome. Yet this was certainly not the case, for the *Codex Rhodienfis* \* had been given as a present to the Cardinal, and the *Codex Bessarionis*, which was used in the Septuagint, had been presented to him by the Senate of Venice. Now, as he expended such considerable sums on the purchase of manuscripts, at least of the Old Testament, that, according to the accounts of Gomez, the whole Bible cost him fifty thousand ducats; and, as the New Testament was begun in 1502, it is wholly incredible that they should have had no other manuscripts than those sent from Rome, because *Leo X.* who communicated these manuscripts, was not Pope before the year 1513. It seems then that the editors, beside the *Codex Rhodienfis*, had other manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which had been procured by the Cardinal †.

But

\* Goeze, in his *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*, p. 5. has observed, that I have omitted to mention the names of some other persons, who were employed in superintending the Hebrew and Chaldee. My reason for omitting them is, that I treat at present of the Complutensian Greek Testament only; but I shall take notice of them in my Introduction to the Old Testament.

† See ch. viii. sect. 6. N° 222.



But whether they were ancient or modern, of great or of little value, it is difficult to determine, as the editors have given no account of them. Wetstein is of opinion that they were modern<sup>6</sup>, because the readings of the Complutensian Bible have a remarkable agreement with those of the manuscripts written in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and this opinion is confirmed by the very shape of the types, for they are such as we find in the most modern manuscripts, and it is probable that the editors had their types cast in imitation of the manuscripts, which they employed on the occasion<sup>7</sup>. They boast in their preface of having printed the Greek text without accents and marks of aspiration, in imitation of the ancient Greek manuscripts<sup>8</sup>. Now as no manuscript written in such letters, as are used for the Complutensian edition, is without accents, and the editors appeal not to the manuscripts, which they actually used, but to the poems of Callimachus, and the Sibylline prophecies, there is reason to suspect that their manuscripts had accents, and consequently were modern<sup>9</sup>. The Complutensian editors must not be considered as impostors when they describe their manuscripts as being of the greatest antiquity; they were honest, though they were mistaken, the art of criticism being then in its infancy, and the antiquity of manuscripts little understood. Whether the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, described above, ch. viii. sect. 6. N<sup>o</sup> 253. was in the number of those, which were sent from Rome, is at present not to be determined<sup>10</sup>. But it is certain that in the Septuagint the Complutensian edition differs so much from the Roman, that the Spanish editors could not have followed the text of the Codex Vaticanus in the Old Testament.

In this edition a Latin letter is prefixed to each word, in order to shew the words in the Latin, which correspond to those in the Greek. To give an instance from Matth. xxvi. 1.

Και <sup>b</sup> ἐγένετο <sup>c</sup> ὅτε <sup>d</sup> ἐπέλυσεν	Et <sup>b</sup> factum <sup>b</sup> est <sup>c</sup> cum
<sup>e</sup> ἰησους <sup>f</sup> παντας τους <sup>g</sup> λογους	<sup>d</sup> consummasset <sup>e</sup> Jesus <sup>f</sup> ser-
<sup>b</sup> τούτους.	<sup>g</sup> mones <sup>b</sup> hos <sup>f</sup> omnes.

And



dishonesty. They might believe that this passage was really genuine, and, on account of its supposed importance, take no notice of its absence from the Greek manuscripts; in the same manner as the verse has been inserted by later editors in Luther's version. Or they might have made some remarks on it, which were afterwards erased by the censors of this edition: for, contrary to their usual custom, they have a marginal note on 1 John v. 7. which is in itself unimportant, and almost implies that something originally preceded. If they have taken the passage from a modern manuscript, they have only acted like Erasmus, who has inserted it on the authority of a very modern manuscript, which he had never seen<sup>11</sup>. In short, many of the best editors have been guided in this passage by a mistaken zeal for the Christian religion, and have acted on principles, which they have never admitted in other places.

But the only question to be asked at present is, whether the editors of the Complutensian Greek Testament have altered the Greek text from the Vulgate, in order to confirm the authority of the latter<sup>12</sup>: or in other words, whether they have wilfully corrupted the Greek text. A charge of this kind appeared to me too severe, even when I published the second edition of this Introduction; yet I still thought that they were too much biased in favour of the Vulgate, and that they almost always adopted those readings which coincided with it; but I ascribed their conduct to honest ignorance, not to an actual intention of corrupting the Greek text. At that time I was unable to form a proper judgement, because I had not the edition itself: and though I had extracts from it in Wetstein's Greek Testament, and likewise the Vulgate, this was not sufficient, because the present question does not depend so much on the text of the Vulgate in general, the manuscripts of which are very different, but on that particular Latin text, which is printed in the Complutensian edition.

I confess that the extraordinary comparison noticed by Wetstein, of the Latin text with Christ, and of the Hebrew

Hebrew and the Greek with the two malefactors increased my suspicion. It is in the preface to the first volume, ‘*mediam inter has Latinam beati Hieronymi translationem, velut inter synagogam, et ecclesiam orientalem posuimus: tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, hoc est, Romanam sive Latinam ecclesiam collocantes.*’ Now it may be reasonably asked, whether critics, who are capable of writing in this manner, are not equally capable of altering the words that were used by the malefactors, from those which were used by Christ. But Goeze has rightly observed, that in this, it is true, ridiculous comparison the Complutensian editors intended to compare not the Hebrew and Greek texts, but the Jewish Synagogue and Greek Church; and Cardinal Ximenes, in his preface, or dedication to Leo X. speaks not only impartially of the original Greek, but in as high terms as Luther himself could have used. For after having observed, that the meaning of many passages could be discovered only *ex ipso archetypæ linguæ fonte*, he proceeds as follows: *Accedit quod, ubicunque latinorum codicum varietas est, aut depravatæ lectionis suspicio, (id quod librariorum imperitia simul et negligentia frequentissime accidere vidimus), ad primam Scripturæ originem recurrendum est, sicut beatus Hieronymus, et Augustinus, ac cæteri ecclesiastici tractatores admonent; ita ut librorum Veteris Testamenti sinceritas ex Hebraicâ veritate, Novi autem ex Græcis exemplaribus examinetur. Ut igitur originalia in promptu haberet quicunque divinarum literarum studiosus, possetque non solis rivulis esse contentus, sed ex ipso fonte salientis aquæ in vitam æternam sitim pectoris extinguere, jussimus archetypas sacræ scripturæ linguas cum adjunctis variarum linguarum translationibus impressioni mandari, Sanctitatis tuæ nomini dedicandas.* And at the end of the preface he adds, *ut incipiant divinarum literarum studia hætenus intermorta nunc tandem revirescere.* It appears likewise from actual experience, that the editors have acted agreeably to these principles; for they have been so far from cor-

recting the original languages of the Bible, the Hebrew and the Greek, from the Latin version, that they have fallen into the contrary error, that of correcting the Septuagint from the Hebrew, in opposition to the Vulgate. And many of the alterations, which they have made in the text of the Greek Testament, appear to me to have been taken rather from the Hebrew, than from the Latin, as it is well known that some of the Complutensian editors were converted Jews, and the laws of criticism were at that time not so well understood as at present. I have observed one example, that has quite the appearance of a Jewish correction, and those who have leisure for making the inquiry might perhaps discover more. Luke ii. 22. the common text is *και οτε επλησθησαν αι ημεραι τε καθαρismus αυτων*, which appears to me to be perfectly accurate; but several critics, not excepting Bengel, who did not comprehend the meaning of *αυτων*, have thought that it should be rejected. In the Vulgate the singular number is used, 'dies purgationis ejus,' where the word *ejus* is generally supposed to have reference to Christ; it is supposed so even by Wettstein, who quotes the Vulgate for the same reading, as the four Greek manuscripts, Cantabrigiensis, Bodleianus 6, Lincolnienfis, and Montfortianus, which have *αυτη* <sup>15</sup>. Now, admitting that this alteration was made from the Latin, it is clear that the corrector understood *ejus* in the masculine gender, as having reference to Christ. But the Complutensian edition has *αυτης*, in reference to Mary; a reading which has been hitherto confirmed by no manuscript <sup>16</sup>. It is true, that this reading must be considered as a correction from the Vulgate, if the Complutensian editors had no Greek manuscript, in which they found it, which however I will not undertake to assert; but the explanation, which they have given of the Vulgate, is grounded on the Hebrew, Leviticus xii. 6, 7. where it is said, that atonement shall be made for the mother'. And if it is a correction from the Latin, it has the appearance of

having  
 v. 6. *וְהָיָה* she shall offer, and, v. 7. the priest *וְהַכֹּהֵן* shall  
 make atonement for her *וְהָיָה* and she shall be cleansed from the  
 issue of her blood.

having been made by a converted Jew, who has given a better explanation of ejus, the reading of the Vulgate, than even Wetstein himself; for he has explained it in a manner suitable to the precept, which is given in the Pentateuch. The other reading *αυτων*, though it is confirmed by the authority of the Greek manuscripts, the editor rejected, because he did not understand it; for he thought that atonement was to be made, not for father, mother, and child, but for the mother alone. Mistakes of this kind have been committed in an hundred instances by the early critics, not excepting even Erasmus; and, instead of amending, they have frequently injured the text, without being accused of having wilfully corrupted the sacred writings.

These then are the arguments, which might be brought à priori, for and against the Complutensian edition: but it appears from the writings of Goeze, that those, which are in favour of it, are confirmed by facts, and that the Complutensian Greek Testament latinizes much less than that of Erasmus. Though I was of a different opinion, when I published the second edition of this Introduction, I am thoroughly persuaded at present, that Goeze is in the right: nor do I consider it as a disgrace to acknowledge an error, into which I had fallen, for want of having seen the edition itself. Dr. Semler is of different sentiments, and whoever wishes to examine the subject in its full extent, must compare his writings with those of Goeze<sup>2</sup>. With respect to Wetstein, though he is a declared enemy of this edition, yet, what has frequently excited my astonishment, the readings, which he has preferred to the common text, are in most cases found in the Complutensian Greek Testament. He degrades it therefore in words, but honours it in fact.

To the preceding remarks may be added, that many readings of this edition, which were formerly supposed to be ratified by no authority, have been since discovered in Greek manuscripts<sup>2</sup>; and that several, which have been

<sup>2</sup> For instance Luke ii, 15. instead of *εως Βηθλεεμ*, the Complutensian edition has *ως Βηθλεεμ*, a reading which is rather suspicious, and has

been lately collated, agree with it in a very remarkable manner. For instance the *Havniensis* 1, (in which Hensler found forty readings that agree with the Complutensian, and are in no other manuscript) the *Laudianus* 2, and *Vindobonensis* *Lambecii* 35. Likewise in the *Septuagint* I have observed that readings, which were before peculiar to the Complutensian edition, have been confirmed by the Alexandrine manuscript. These circumstances may reasonably lead us to conclude, that the Complutensian edition was faithfully taken from manuscripts, and that those Complutensian readings, which are in no manuscript known to us at present, were actually taken from manuscripts used by the editors. So long therefore as we are without the manuscripts, from which this edition was taken, it must itself be considered as a valuable manuscript; or as a *Codex Criticus*, that contains many scarce readings.

In this situation it was natural for every friend to criticism, to wish that the manuscripts used in this edition, which might be supposed to have been preserved at *Alcala*, should be collated anew; and in the third edition of this Introduction I expressed the same wish in speaking of the *Codex Rhodienfis*. But the inconceivable ignorance and stupidity of a librarian at *Alcala*, about the year 1749, has rendered it impossible that these wishes should ever be gratified. Professor *Moldenhawer*, who was in Spain in 1784, went to *Alcala*, for the very purpose of discovering those manuscripts; and being able to find none, suspected that they were designedly kept secret from him, though contrary to the generous treatment which he had at other times experienced in that country. At last he discovered that a very illiterate librarian, about thirty-five years before, who wanted room for

the appearance of being a correction made by the editors. It is quoted by *Wetstein*, not from any manuscript, but merely from the Complutensian edition, and those which were copied from it. *Knittel*, however, found it in the *Cod. Guelferbytanus A*, which, though I do not consider the reading as a good one, is sufficient to rescue the Complutensian editors from the charge of having given it without authority<sup>18</sup>.

for some new books, sold the ancient vellum manuscripts to one Toryo, who dealt in fire-works, as materials for making rockets<sup>19</sup>. Oh, that I had it in my power to immortalize both librarian and rocket-maker! This prodigy of barbarism I would not venture to relate, till Professor Tychsen, who accompanied Moldenhawer, had given me fresh assurances of its truth\*. I will not lay it to the charge of the Spanish nation in general, in which there are men of real learning; but the author of this inexcusable act was the greatest barbarian of the present century, and happy only in being unknown.

That part of the Complutensian Greek Testament, which appears to me to be the best, and indeed better than the common editions, is the Revelation of St. John, for it retains the rough and abrupt construction, which is peculiar to this book; for instance, ch. i. 4. And I wonder that Bengel, who first observed that this peculiar construction was a token of authenticity, has not bestowed more praise on the Complutensian edition for that very reason, and that he should say of it, in his *Fundamenta criseos apocalypticæ*, § xix. ‘Complutensis editio minus excellens in bonis et in malis lectionibus.’ Yet he has made

\* The account which he gives is the following, “As the University of Alcalá has a very considerable library, and has existed many centuries, it was reasonable to suppose, that it contained many manuscripts. Gómez declares that they cost 4000 aurei, and that among them were seven of the Hebrew Bible. In this library it is highly probable that the Greek manuscripts were deposited, which were used for the Complutensian edition, and of which the German literati have so long wished to have some intelligence. But all these manuscripts were sold in a lump, about thirty-five years ago, to a rocket-maker of the name of Toryo, and were put down in the librarian’s account como membranas inútiles. Martínez, a man of learning, and particularly skilled in the Greek language, heard of it soon after they were sold, and hastened to save these treasures from destruction: but it was too late, for they were already destroyed, except a few scattered leaves, which are now preserved in the library. That the number of manuscripts was very considerable, appears from the following circumstance: One Rodan assured Bayer, that he had seen the receipt which was given to the purchaser, from which it appeared that the money was paid at two different payments.”



made considerable use of it in this very book, and in many instances adopted its readings. With this book in particular the Codex Guelpherbytanus C, which I have described in the catalogue of manuscripts, N° 130. very remarkably coincides. See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VIII. p. 158, 159<sup>20</sup>.

The Complutensian edition is extremely scarce, because only six hundred impressions were taken off<sup>b</sup>; it is wanting in many of the public libraries, and has not been many years even in that of Gottingen. This is the reason why so many different accounts have been given of it. It is too expensive for a private library; that which is now at Gottingen cost 480 florins; and the late Münchhausen gave an order to his commissioner as far as 900: and the price of it will still increase, in proportion as its great excellence, especially in the Septuagint, shall be better known. This is an inconvenience to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism, because a book of this kind should be always ready at hand. But Goeze has rendered a service to the public, in having made diligent inquiry after all the copies of this edition, which are preserved in the libraries of Germany, and having given an account of them in his writings.

Mill, Bengel, and Wettstein, have collated this edition, as a manuscript, with great diligence; but I have found, from repeated experience, that their extracts are by no means complete. And they have neglected one thing, which is absolutely necessary in this edition, to quote the Latin, as well as the Greek. For if the Greek contradicts the Latin text, it is a proof that it was supported by a great majority of manuscripts, since otherwise they would not have deviated from the established version of their church. And it is certain that they could not have avoided observing the difference, because they have even pointed it out by a mark, which I have mentioned above<sup>21</sup>. Goeze, in his *Complete Defence of the Complutensian Edition*, p. 277. has given extracts from it, which in the proper sense of the word may be called

<sup>b</sup> Clement *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, Tom. IV. p. 175.

called critical, and which no future editor of the Greek Testament ought to leave unnoticed. His object however was not to give complete extracts, but only to produce the principal passages, in which the Greek text differs from the Latin. It was the wish of Mill that the text of this edition had been retained in all other editions, and that the differences had been only noted in the margin, because later editors have rather injured, than improved the text. Now I will not censure what cannot at present be amended; but I think that a real service would be rendered to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism, if a new edition both of the Greek and Latin Testament was published, that was an exact copy of the Complutensian<sup>22</sup>.

2. Before the Complutensian Polyglot was delivered to the public, Erasmus published his Greek Testament with a new Latin translation<sup>23</sup>. The Greek manuscripts, which he used, have been described above, ch. viii. sect. 6, chiefly under the article *Codices Basileenses*. Natural abilities, profound learning, a readiness in detecting errors, with every qualification that is requisite to produce critical sagacity, Erasmus possessed in the very highest degree: and perhaps there never existed a more able editor of the New Testament. But he was engaged, and paid by a printer, who employed him in publishing and correcting several books, in consequence of which he was obliged to make greater haste in the publication of his Greek Testament, than the novelty and importance of the subject should have permitted, because, though involved in a multiplicity of other business, he was obliged to prepare for the press a fresh sheet every day<sup>24</sup>. This is evident from his letters, of which Wetstein has given extracts in his *Prolegomena*, p. 122, 123. and on this account Erasmus is much more to be pitied than to be censured. It is a mistake, that he began his first edition in 1513, which it is necessary for me to notice, because I had asserted it on the authority of Mill<sup>25</sup>. His editions of the Greek Testament, notwithstanding their faults, are much esteemed, and in some respects equi-

equivalent to manuscripts, though Erasmus has sometimes made use of critical conjecture, to which he was accustomed, as corrector of a press, and has very frequently altered the Greek text from the Vulgate. Examples of the latter have been given by Goeze, and every reader will observe them, in examining Wetstein's various readings. A remarkable instance, in which he has made one of these mistakes, is John xviii. 15. where he has *αλλος μαθητης*, instead of *ο αλλος μαθητης*. Now the omission of the article gives the passage a different meaning, yet it was omitted in no manuscript, that could have been known to Erasmus; because the three, in which *αλλος μαθητης* is found, namely, the Alexandrinus, Cantabrigienfis, and Winchelseanus, had not been then collated. The omission therefore of the article, is either an error arising from the too great hurry of Erasmus, and transferred from his edition to almost every other<sup>26</sup>, or it is an alteration from critical conjecture, or it is a correction from the Vulgate; for Erasmus, as well as Wetstein, has been guilty of a mistake, in supposing that *αλλος*, not *ο αλλος*, is expressed in the Vulgate, when in fact the Latin, which cannot express the article, is no evidence at all. The reading *απωλειας*, 2 Pet. ii. 2. which we find in the edition of Erasmus, no one has been able to discover in any manuscript whatsoever. In the twenty-second chapter of the book of Revelation he has even ventured to give his own translation from the Latin, because the Codex Reuchlini, which was the only Greek manuscript, which he had of that book, was there defective. And he seems to have taken the same liberty in many places, where he had not that excuse: for instance, Acts ix. 5, 6. In his *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum*, he gives a particular account of those Greek readings, which differ from the Latin: yet his Greek text latinizes much more than the Complutensian. He published five editions of the New Testament, in the years 1516, 1519<sup>27</sup>, 1522, 1527, 1535; of which the two last were altered in many places from the Complutensian edition, especially in the Revelation of St. John;

**John:** for Mill relates, that of an hundred alterations which Erasmus made in his edition of 1527, not less than ninety relate to the Revelation alone. These five editions have been collated by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein. I have never particularly examined whether their collations have been made with accuracy; but having occasionally made use of the first and most scarce of these editions, I have observed that their extracts are not complete. It is however of less importance to know the readings of his editions, than those of the Complutensian, because we are acquainted with most of the manuscripts, which he used<sup>23</sup>. A knowledge of them belongs rather to the province of literary history, and is more necessary in making a proper estimate of his editions, than in the criticism of the New Testament itself. After his death, his Greek Testament was published at Basel, in 1553, and again in 1558, at Leipzig in 1582, at Frankfort, with various readings, in 1673, 1674, and 1693, and, with a preface by Schmid, in 1700. But these reimpressions are of little importance in the present inquiry.

The literary labours of Erasmus, added to the envy excited by his profound erudition, drew on him the attacks of many adversaries; not to mention the strictures which were passed on his productions by the divines of Paris. One of his most violent opponents was the learned Spaniard Lopez de Stunica, who published *Annotationes adversus Erasmus in defensione translationis N. T.* Erasmus replied, in his *Apologies*, both to him and his other antagonists; and the controversy has been so far useful, that many points of criticism have been cleared up, which would otherwise have remained obscure. But the character of Erasmus seems in some measure to have lost by it, for he was more intent on his own defence, than the investigation of truth, as Wetstein has shewn in several instances.

Several other editions of the Greek Testament, which have been celebrated for their excellence or scarcity, are nothing more than reimpressions of that of Erasmus.

4) The Greek Bible which Aldus Manutius published  
at

at Venice in 1518. Even the errors of the press are retained in it: for instance in the edition of Erasmus, Rev. vii. 14. a catch-word had been falsely printed, namely *αυτας* for *αυτων*, which Manutius has retained, and printed *ελευκαναν τας σολας ΑΤΤΑΣ αυτων* \*. Wetstein, therefore, p. 127. has very justly observed that Erasmus did not act fairly in appealing to the Aldine edition, in support of his own readings. This edition was reprinted by Heerwagen at Basel in 1545.

b) The Greek Testament printed at Hagenau in 1521, by Nicolaus Gerbelius, was taken from those of Erasmus and Manutius, for it differs only in the errors of the press †. Some have contended that Luther made his German translation from this edition, for instance Tobias Eckhard, in his *Conjecturæ de codice Græco N. T. quo Lutherus in concinnandâ versione Germanicâ usus sit*. Halberstadii 1722; to whom Boysen replied in his *Dissertatio theologica et critica de codice Græco, quo usus est Lutherus*, Lipsiæ 1723. The controversy would be of little importance, if it related not to the history of a version so generally used, as that of Luther, and to the source from which it was drawn.

c) The edition published at Strasburg in 1524, under the direction of Fabricius Capito<sup>c</sup>, differs from that of Hagenau in only eleven places, one of which is a critical conjecture.

Another edition printed at Strasburg in the same year is said to be a copy of that of Aldus<sup>29</sup>.

d) The edition by Johannes Bebelius at Basel in 1531 follows Erasmus and Aldus<sup>30</sup>.

e) Sim. Colinæus republished the edition of Erasmus at Paris in 1534, but he made several alterations on the authority of some Greek manuscripts, and the Complutensian

\* See Mill's Prolegomena, § 1122, 1123.

† Mill's Prolegomena, § 1136.

c The publisher says in the preface 'Fabricii Capitonis consanguinei mei tum industria tum consilio opitulantis.' But his name is not in the title, which is merely *Novum Testamentum Græce*. Argentorati apud Wolsium Cephalæum. Anno 1534.

tenfian edition. He has been fufpected likewise of having inferted critical conjectures in the text, efpecially by Beza, who has taken the very fame liberty himfelf. But Wettstein has obferved, that in moft of the examples, which have been confidered as alterations from conjecture, Colinaeus has actually followed Greek manufcripts; and it appears from Griefbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ* that there are three in particular, namely Wettstein's Codex 17, and Griefbach's 119, and 120, which in many remarkable readings coincide with the edition of Colinaeus<sup>31</sup>.

f) The edition of Jacobus Bogardus, which takes its name from the publisher, was printed at Paris in 1543. According to the title, it is only a reimpreffion of one of Erasmus's editions; but there is a material difference, efpecially in the book of Revelation, as appears from the lift of various readings at the end of the work. Wettstein, who has defcribed it, p. 142. is of opinion that the editor made ufe of the Codex Stephani<sup>32</sup>.

g) In this and the following year was printed at Bafel an octavo edition, under the following title, *Novi Testamenti omnia, cum fcholiis ex patribus, et hiftoriis in loca obfcuriora in marginibus adjectis*. The fubfcription is *Bafilæ per Thomam Platerum, impenfis Reinhardi Beck*. Anno M. D. XLIIII. mense Martio<sup>33</sup>. I take notice of this edition, becaufe it has *εν τη καθεξης*, inftead of *εν τη καθεξης*, Luke viii. 1. a reading, which makes a material alteration in the fense<sup>34</sup>. Though it follows in general the edition of Erasmus, it deferves a more minute examination. John Gaft has prefixed to it a dedication, dated Feb. 16, 1543, which contains nothing of any confequence, except the following paffage, Reinhardus Beck, insignis noſtræ urbis bibliopola, cum Novum Testamentum Græco charactere ſub præſentem dare animo concepiſſet, me convenit, an aliquid habere in annotationum, quo commendatiſſimus per ſe liber commendator, in lucem exiret, ſibi ut communicarem, rogans. Non potui vel aliquid illius humanitati denegare. Mox aſſenſi, et candide quæ aſſignata erant libro meo impertivi. It appears then that Gaſt had nothing to do with the publication, and correction of the text<sup>35</sup>.

3. The third place among the editors of the Greek Testament must be assigned to Robert Stephens. His celebrated Paris edition of 1546 he formed from those of Alcalá and Basel<sup>36</sup>, but at the same time made use of several manuscripts, which were collated by his son Henry, and have been described above, ch. viii. sect. 6. under the article *Codices Stephani*<sup>37</sup>. It is to be lamented that he has not noted all the various readings of these manuscripts. He differs from the Complutensian Greek Testament in five hundred and ninety-eight readings<sup>38</sup>; and he may be considered as the parent of that text, which is at present in common use. Whoever therefore supposes that our present editions contain an accurate text, must entertain the same opinion of that of Stephens; yet it appears from what was said of his manuscripts, ch. viii. sect. 6. that accuracy was not one of his great virtues.

He himself published in

1549, the second edition, which differs from the former in seventy-seven places<sup>39</sup>;

1550, the third edition, which is finely executed;

1551, the fourth edition;

and his son published in

1569 the fifth edition<sup>40</sup>.

Vögel's edition, which was printed at Leipzig in 1564, and that of Crispin, published at Geneva in 1553, were copied from those of Stephens.

4. Theodore Beza procured from Henry Stephens his father's edition of 1550, with readings, which Robert Stephens had noted in the margin<sup>41</sup>. From this work Beza formed a new edition of the Greek Testament, which first appeared in 1565<sup>42</sup>; but he inserted in the text many of the marginal readings, which were favourable to his own opinions, even in cases where they were ratified by only a single manuscript; and it may be observed that he speaks in a very confused manner of Stephens's manuscripts in general<sup>43</sup>. His second edition of the Greek Testament which, as well as the preceding, was printed

by

by Henry Stephens, appeared in 1576, who prefixed to it his celebrated dissertation *De stilo, lectionibus, et interpunctionibus Novi Testamenti*. In this edition many readings were altered.

In 1582 he published his third, and most complete edition, which he enriched with many various readings from the *Codex Cantabrigienfis*, and *Codex Claromontanus*. He added to the Greek text not only the Vulgate, but his own Latin translation, and many notes. It was reprinted in 1589, and it is the edition, from which the text of our common editions of the Greek Testament has been chiefly taken<sup>44</sup>.

Bengel has given an account of the various editions of the Greek Testament which have been taken from it<sup>45</sup>. Of these, the Elzevir editions deserve particularly to be noticed. It is not known who were the literati, who had the superintendence of these editions, and determined the particular readings; but it appears on comparison that they have chiefly followed those of Stephens and Beza<sup>46</sup>. The first Elzevir edition was printed at Leyden in 1624, the second in 1626, which, with the Amsterdam edition of 1662, are the most beautiful of all those which were printed by the Elzevirs. Morinus, though he endeavoured in his *Exercitationes Biblicæ* to shew that the text of the Greek Testament was very uncertain, and that the Latin text alone was to be depended on, yet follows the Elzevirs in their splendid edition of the New Testament, which was printed at Paris in 1628.

Beza was attacked, not only on account of the readings which he had adopted, but also for his interpretation of the New Testament, by John Bois, Prebendary of Ely, in his *Collatio, in quatuor evangelia et acta veteris interpretis cum Beza*; which learned work was written in 1625, but not published till thirty years afterwards<sup>47</sup>. He defends very properly the Vulgate in many places against the unnecessary alterations, that were made by Beza.

5. The edition printed by Wechel at Frankfort in  
VOL. II. F f 1597,



1597, in which various readings were added by F. Sylburgius, though others ascribe them to Franciscus Junius. In this edition no alterations were made<sup>48</sup>.

6. Benedictus Arias Montanus printed, in the *Biblia Polyglotta* or *Regia*, which was published at Antwerp in 1572, the text of the Greek Testament, which he modelled after that of the Complutensian edition, and that of Erasmus, making the former the basis of his edition, and altering it from the latter. It is thus described by Wettstein in his *Prolegomena*, p. 150.

This text has been several times reprinted, and Wettstein has given extracts from it in his various readings. One of the reimpressions, from which he has also given extracts, is the Geneva edition of 1620, printed by Pierre de la Roviére. These extracts are so imperfect, that I shall take particular notice of the subject, when I speak of Wettstein's edition. Schmid has made a new collation, which with his permission has been communicated to me; and it appears from it, that Wettstein has quoted ten places totally false, and omitted above an hundred readings, which either confirm those, which he had drawn from other sources, or are totally wanting in his edition: but of these latter readings I acknowledge that several are merely errors of the press. On comparing the readings, which are quoted from the Greek text of the Antwerp Polyglot, with those which Wettstein has given from the Complutensian, I found that they coincided in a very remarkable manner; and this coincidence is again confirmed by the extracts, which have been made by Schmid. These extracts deserve to be printed.

7. The edition of the Greek Testament by Stephanus Curcellæus was first printed in 1658, at the press of the Elzevirs, and reprinted in 1675, 1685, and 1699. Curcellæus has given various readings from two Greek manuscripts, beside those which he has copied from former editions. Rumpæus, in his *Commentatio critica ad Novum Testamentum*, p. 280. has given a fuller ac-

count of this edition, and laid to the editor several charges, which perhaps are not wholly ungrounded <sup>49</sup>.

8. In the beautiful Polyglot, published at Paris in nine volumes folio, the New Testament is printed in the fifth volume, in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic <sup>50</sup>. But the Greek text in this edition has nothing remarkable, to distinguish it from other editions.

9. The celebrated London Polyglot, published by Brian Walton in 1657, deserves particularly to be mentioned. The fifth volume contains the Greek text, with a Latin translation, also the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, and in the Gospels the Persian version, with Latin translations to each; and under the Greek text, several readings from the Codex Alexandrinus. In the sixth volume is the first copious collection of various readings, that ever was printed. For there are not only the various readings, which Stephens had printed in his margin, the Velelian readings, and those of Wechel, but also the readings of sixteen manuscripts, which were collated under the direction of Archbishop Usher. These manuscripts have been described in the eighth chapter, under the numbers 50, 59, 61, 65, 134, 135, 157, 158, 160, 161, 180, 186, 187, 188, 245, 251. Whoever wishes to read a description of them all together, may consult Mill's Prolegomena, § 1372—1396.

This Polyglot is of the utmost importance to a critic, not only on account of the extracts which it contains from the above-mentioned manuscripts, but particularly on account of the Oriental versions, from which he must collect various readings to the New Testament. Though several of the manuscripts, which are quoted in the Polyglot, have since that time been more accurately collated, and no one would now have recourse to that edition for the readings of the Alexandrinus, or Cantabrigiensis, yet some of the sixteen manuscripts, which Usher had collated, have never been since examined, Mill and Wetstein having inserted those readings in their collections, as they found them in the Polyglot. Now as errors of

the prefs are unavoidable, especially in a work like Wetstein's, it is necessary to have recourse to the Polyglot, whenever a doubt arises in regard to the accuracy of a quotation by Mill or Wetstein, in order to see whether these manuscripts, which were collated for the London Polyglot, have the readings in question or not.

Several other critics have borrowed from the readings of the London Polyglot. Bengel selected whatever appeared to him important, and Saubert has inserted in his *Variæ Lectiones* all the readings of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

10. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, was the next after Walton, who published a critical edition of the Greek Testament: but this was so eclipsed by that of Mill, that it is no longer sought as a work of importance in sacred criticism, but merely as a scarce book, though the learned editor made many additions to that which had been performed by Walton: and the only merit, which it retains, is that of having given birth to Mill's edition. The title is, *Της καινης διαθηκης απαντα*, *Novi Testamenti libri omnes. Accefferunt parallela scripturæ loca, nec non variantes lectiones ex plus 100 MSS. Codicibus, et antiquis versionibus collectæ. Oxonii, e theatro Sheldoniano, 1775, 8<sup>vo</sup>.*

1675.

It appears from the preface, that the great number of various readings, which are printed in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, apart from the text, had given alarm to many persons, who were ignorant of criticism, and had induced them to suspect, that the New Testament was attended with so much uncertainty, as to be a very imperfect standard of faith and manners. In order to convince such persons of their error, and to shew how little the sense of the New Testament was altered by them, Fell printed them under the text, that the reader might the more easily compare them.

To the readings which he copied from the London Polyglot, those quoted by Curcellæus, and the Barberini readings, he added Marshall's extracts from the Coptic and Gothic versions, and the readings of several manuscripts,

scripts, which were collated for his edition: but these he has not sufficiently described. These are, 1. Twelve manuscripts in the Bodleian library, of which he says, *quorum plerique intacti prius, nec in Polyglottis recensiti.* 2. Two manuscripts, formerly the property of Usher, which were collated for him by Dodwell. These are the manuscripts, which I have described in the eighth chapter, by the titles *Cod. Usher. 1. et 2.* But Fell did not observe that the latter had been already quoted in the London Polygot by another name; in consequence of which, he has quoted the same evidence twice<sup>a</sup>. 3. The three *Codices Petavani*, and the *Codex Sangermanensis*, which were collated by Gachon. The extracts from these manuscripts arrived too late to be printed under the text; and the editor was obliged therefore, contrary to his original plan, to add them in an appendix, together with the Barberini readings. Even in this appendix only a few of them are quoted: but they are not lost to the world, for the Bishop communicated the manuscript collation to Mill. One might almost conclude from a passage in Mill's *Prolegomena*<sup>a</sup>, that the various readings, at least those in the appendix, were not reduced into order by the bishop himself, but that he left the drudgery to others, who had less zeal and critical knowledge, than himself.

With respect to the quotations of the fathers, Fell's opinion was erroneous, for he supposed that they quoted merely from memory; and for this reason he not only neglected them himself, but was displeased with Mill, for bestowing on them so much attention.

The second edition, which was not published till after his death, is a magnificent folio; but it would have been no loss, had this edition never appeared. It takes its name from John Gregory, because it contains the extracts which he had made, (for he died before it was published)

<sup>a</sup> *E quibus paucas duntaxat, idque sine distinctione omni, primi, secundi, tertii, codicum unde petita sunt, in appendicem editionis Oxoniensis transmiserant.*

published) partly from the Greek fathers, partly from Greek profane authors: but these extracts are of no great value. The title is, *Novum Testamentum, una cum scholiis Græcis, e Græcis scriptoribus, tam ecclesiasticis, quam exteris, maxima ex parte desumptis. Opera et studio Johannis Gregorii. Oxonii, e theatro Sheldoniano, 1703.* This edition, if we except the typographical execution, has nothing worthy of the Sheldon theatre; for no addition is made to the various readings of Fell's edition, which might easily have been done from the bishop's papers, nor are even those, which he had been obliged to print in an appendix, transferred to their proper places.

The edition of 1675 has been twice reprinted in Germany<sup>52</sup>: but no man would seek at present, in so imperfect a work, what he can find, not only more completely, but with greater ease in Mill. Fell's edition is of no value, not even for the purpose of examining whether later editors, who have quoted the same manuscripts as himself, have quoted inaccurately: for as Mill was in possession of all the bishop's papers, his edition is of course a more certain criterion, than that of his predecessor. But Fell has greater merit than he could have acquired from an edition of the Greek Testament; for he possessed a noble and generous spirit, which he displayed in communicating to Mill whatever he had collected himself, and in encouraging one of the best of critics to publish an edition, which has brought his own into oblivion, and which still remains an indispensable work to every man engaged in sacred criticism. He died however before it was published; for Mill was advanced in his publication no further than the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, when the world was deprived of this excellent man, a loss, which was felt particularly by Mill, as it prevented the fulfilling of a promise, which the bishop had made him, to defray the expence of printing.

Here ends the infancy of criticism, in respect to the New Testament: and the age of manhood commences with the edition, which I am now going to describe.

11. This is the celebrated edition of John Mill, which he finished only fourteen days before his death, after having bestowed on it the labour of thirty years. The origin and progress of it he has himself described in his *Prolegomena* \*; I will therefore make only such remarks on the value and contents of this publication, as relate immediately to points of criticism.

The collections of Various Readings, which had been made before the time of Mill, the Veleſian, the Barberini, those of Stephens, the London Polyglot, and Fell's edition, with those which the bishop had left in manuscript, and whatever he was able to procure elsewhere, he brought together into one large collection. He made likewise very considerable additions to it. He collated several original editions more accurately than had been done before: he procured extracts from Greek manuscripts, which had never been collated, and of such as had been before collated, but not with sufficient attention, he obtained more complete extracts. I will not enumerate the manuscripts at present, because they are too numerous; and it is the less necessary, as, in the chapter relative to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, whatever was performed by Mill, has been mentioned under each respective article. He also added, as far as he was able, readings from the ancient versions; and he displayed his critical judgement, in not filling the margin of his edition with quotations from the modern European versions, which have no weight in sacred criticism. He is likewise to be commended for the great attention which he paid to the quotations of the fathers, the importance of which he had sagacity enough to discern: and he is the more to be commended, because in this point he had to contend with the opinion of his friend and patron bishop Fell, who advised him to hasten his work, and devote less time to the writings of the fathers.

It is said, that he has collected from manuscripts, fathers, and versions, not less than thirty thousand various readings.

\* Sect. 1412. to the end.

readings. Mill was perhaps too painfully accurate in regard to trifles, and readings that are evident errata; whereas others have gone into the opposite extreme, and omitted things of importance. But he is not therefore to be censured; for in a capital work like Mill's Greek Testament, which every critic has occasion to consult, it is better to have too much than too little; and Mill never falls into the childishness betrayed by some collectors, who, where there is little to gather, are resolved to gather all. His adversaries, of whom many were wholly ignorant of criticism, were not aware that the manifest errors of a transcriber are sometimes worthy of notice; because we learn from them the character of the manuscripts themselves, and their relation to other manuscripts.

Before the time of Mill, the editors of the Greek Testament, and the collectors of various readings, were not accustomed to give a clear and accurate description of their manuscripts. This task was first undertaken by Mill, which he has executed in his elegant and learned Prolegomena, which consist of 168 folio pages: and he has not only described his manuscripts, but judged of the goodness of them from the readings, which he quotes from them as proofs. He was the first person, who attempted to give a genealogy of the editions of the Greek Testament, in which, it is true, he made several mistakes: but no man, who makes the first attempt, can expect to arrive at perfection. His Prolegomena, notwithstanding those of Wettstein, still retain their original value; for they contain a great deal of matter, which is not in Wettstein, and of the matter, which is common to both, some things are explained more clearly by Mill. Wettstein travelled into different countries, examined with his own eyes a much greater number of manuscripts; than his predecessor, had more genius, and a much greater share of learning; but on the other hand, Mill was more diligent, had more critical phlegma, and, I believe, adhered more strictly to the truth<sup>33</sup>. I find it necessary to mention these circumstances, because it seems

seems to be the opinion of many, that Mill's edition, and especially his Prolegomena, since the publication of Wettstein's Greek Testament, is become useless, and, as it were, obsolete.

Mill's collection of various readings, notwithstanding its many imperfections, and the superiority of that of Wettstein, is still absolutely necessary to every critic: for Wettstein has omitted a great number of readings which are to be found in Mill, especially those, which are either taken from the Vulgate, or confirm its readings. I admit that Mill was too much attached to this version; yet he cannot be accused of partiality in producing its evidence, because it is the duty of a critic to examine the witnesses on both sides of the question: and Wettstein, by too frequently neglecting the evidence in favour of the Vulgate, has rendered his collection less perfect, than it would otherwise have been.

Mill made no alterations in the text of the Greek Testament, but copied exactly the third edition of Stephens. But he delivered his opinion on particular readings, partly in his Prolegomena, partly in his collection of readings, that are printed under the text. In the one he often gives an opinion, which contradicts that which he had given in the other; which arose from his having acquired, during the progress of the work, as he himself confesses, a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject, for which he was chiefly indebted to Simon's Critical History, especially in respect to the proper use of the ancient versions. Bengel has observed, that Mill was at first more attentive to the number, than to the goodness of his manuscripts, but that he afterwards corrected his error. It may be observed in general, that Mill was more inclined to favour the readings, which coincided with the Vulgate, than those which differed from it. Yet his critical judgement prevented him from adopting a reading as genuine, because it was smooth and easy; and in this respect he has introduced among the critics a taste, which is perfectly just, but contrary to that which prevailed at the revival of learning.

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The great diligence, which he displayed in collecting so many thousand readings, exposed him to the attacks of many writers both in England and Germany, who formed not only an unfavourable, but unjust opinion of his work. Not only the clergy in general, but even Professors in the Universities, who had no knowledge of criticism, considered his vast collection of various readings, as a work of evil tendency, and inimical to the Christian religion. And perhaps a still greater number of years would have elapsed, before the merits of his Greek Testament would have been acknowledged, if Bengel, who was universally celebrated, as a man of uncommon piety, had not given it authority, by treading in the footsteps of its author.

It cannot be denied that Mill's Greek Testament has many imperfections, and some of real importance. His extracts from manuscripts are often not only incomplete, but erroneous; and it is frequently necessary to correct the mistakes in Mill, from the edition of Wetstein. This arose from Mill's not having travelled, like Wetstein, to collate manuscripts himself; he was obliged to depend on the diligence and accuracy of others, who collated rather out of friendship, and to whom therefore he could prescribe no fixed and determinate plan. If Mill had had the same pecuniary assistance for his edition of the New Testament, which Kennicott had in his publication of the Old, these imperfections might have been avoided: but instead of laying them to the charge of the learned editor, we must rather consider it as a merit, that he ventured, in spite of numerous obstacles, on so great and extensive an undertaking.

Still less perfect are his extracts from the Oriental versions, because he was unacquainted with those languages, and in selecting readings from the Syriac, the Arabic, and Ethiopic, was obliged to have recourse to the Latin translations, which are annexed to those versions in the London Polyglot. My late father, in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, has taken particular notice of the mistakes of this kind in  
Mill's

Mill's edition, which amount not to hundreds, but to thousands. To be convinced of the truth of this assertion, the reader needs only to have recourse to the seventh paragraph of my *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, where he will see that they amount to at least five hundred in the Acts of the Apostles alone. In the year 1767, Professor Bode published a treatise, entitled, *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*, in which the mistakes of this kind, which had been committed by Mill, are pointed out, and corrected. It is a work, with which no man can dispense, who would make a critical use of Mill's Greek Testament, if he is unacquainted with Syriac and Arabic.

In the description of manuscripts, and other critical documents, which he had never seen himself, Mill is too often led away by the force of his imagination, and he relates his own conjectures with as much confidence, as if they were real facts. His description of the *Codex Vaticanus*, as a manuscript used by the Complutensian editors, his quotation of an hundred readings from this manuscript, because those readings are in the Complutensian edition, and the opinion which he thence forms of the manuscript itself, confirm the truth of this assertion.

The contradictions, which have been observed in the opinions delivered by Mill, in different places, on the same subject, of which Whitby has collected examples in a publication, that bears the illiberal title of *Millius seauton timorhmenos*<sup>e</sup>, I consider as no fault in that eminent critic: on the contrary, it redounds to his honour, that he not only acquired a more extensive knowledge of the subject during the progress of his work, but had candour enough to confess his former mistakes. Whoever has to form an opinion on several thousand readings, in which it is often difficult to distinguish what is spurious from that which is genuine, and where the decision depends frequently on a seeming trifle, is unavoidably exposed to the danger of deciding in one instance upon principles, that

<sup>e</sup> In the appendix to his *Examen variantium lectionum Millii*.

that contradict those which he had adopted in another, unless, like Whitby, he is predetermined to give the constant preference to one particular edition, or, instead of forming an unbiassed judgement in each particular instance, has constant recourse to former decisions, in order to be uniform at the expence of partiality.

The greatest objection, which can be made to Mill, is that he frequently gives an opinion, where it is wholly superfluous, and that he often makes a positive decision in cases, where neither of the readings has a manifest superiority of evidence. In readings, which make no alteration in the sense, we seldom find a decided preponderance in favour of any one in particular, especially if we balance the number of witnesses in one scale, by the goodness and authority of those in the other. We must not therefore be surprised, that Mill, in the description of his manuscripts, makes mention, not of one, two, or three, but frequently of an hundred readings, peculiar to a particular manuscript, which he describes as genuine, and as proofs of the goodness of the manuscript, in retaining so much of the true text, which is not to be found in other documents. It seems, as if he made his ear the criterion for determining the genuineness of a reading, without considering that on this principle, not only different persons, but the same person at different times, must form different opinions; not to mention, that of any two readings, we seldom find either so offensive to the ear, as to warrant us to conclude, on that account alone, that it was not written by the author, whose works we examine.

Mill's principal opponent was Daniel Whitby, a man who was certainly endued with a considerable share of learning. His chief object was to defend the readings of the printed text, and to shew that Mill was mistaken in frequently preferring other readings. But how frequently soever Mill has been guilty of an error in judgement, in the choice of this or that particular reading, yet the value of the collection itself remains unaltered. To give the reader a notion of Whitby's design, in his  
attack

attack upon Mill, I will quote the title-page at full length.

Examen variantium lectionum Johannes Millii S. T. P. ubi ostenditur,

1. Lectionum harum fundamenta incerta plane esse, et ad lectionem textus hodierni convellendam protinus inidonea.

2. Lectiones variantes, quæ sunt momenti alicujus, aut sensum textus mutant, paucissimas esse, atque in iis omnibus <sup>†</sup> lectionem textus defendi posse.

3. Lectiones variantes levioris momenti, quas latius expendimus, tales esse, in quibus a lectione recepta rarissime recedendum est.

4. Millium in hisce variantibus lectionibus colligendis sæpius arte non ingenua usum esse, falsis citationibus abundare, et sibimet ipsi multoties contradicere.

Opera et studio Danielis Whitby S. T. B. et ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis Præcentoris, 1710. It was afterwards annexed to his Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, published in 1727.

Now Whitby, though a good commentator, was a bad critic. This appears from his very manner of arguing against Mill, for we may be assured, that whoever condemns another as a heretic, because he is of a different opinion, is wholly ignorant of the art of criticism. In the beginning of his preface, he describes Mill's collection of various readings as inimical to our religion, and as rendering the Word of God uncertain. He says that "Mill has collated at least ninety manuscripts, and yet prefers frequently a reading that is found in only twenty, or thirty: that he must therefore have been either extremely negligent in collating, or that the reading, which he rejects, is supported by the greatest number of manuscripts." But this accusation betrays a total ignorance of manuscripts, and shews that Whitby had never

<sup>†</sup> In *omnibus* defendi posse, though it implies not an absolute impossibility, is certainly a very bold assertion. Nor is it a proof of Whitby's impartial love of truth, unless he supposed that Robert Stephens was inspired.

never read with proper attention even Mill's *Prolegomena*; from which he might have learned, that all these manuscripts do not contain the whole New Testament\*.

Ludolph Küster reprinted Mill's Greek Testament at Rotterdam in 1710, and enriched it with the readings of twelve additional manuscripts<sup>44</sup>. These are nine Paris manuscripts, with those of Carpzov, Seidel, and Boerner. This edition has likewise another advantage, that the readings which Mill had been obliged to place in his Appendix, are here transferred to their proper places. But Griesbach, in the preface to his *Symbolæ criticæ*, has observed that Küster has not transferred them all.

Before I conclude the account of Mill's edition, I must take notice of that copy, which is in my own possession, because I should be sorry that the pains, which have been bestowed on it, should be lost to the world. This copy I inherited from my father, who has written marginal notes from one end of it to the other. They consist partly in new readings, which he himself had collected, partly in observations on the old. The readings, which he has added, are taken chiefly from Theophylact, from the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions, particularly that published by Erpenius, and a manuscript of the Vulgate, which he procured from the library of Ludwig. The extracts from this manuscript are very numerous: but the most important are those, which are taken from the Oriental versions, because the readings, which Mill has quoted from them, are very imperfect, whereas those, which my father has collected, were assuredly not taken from the Latin translations, but drawn from the originals themselves. After my death, this copy will be deposited in the library of the Orphan House in Halle.

In the Bodleian library is a copy of Mill's Greek Testament, with additions and corrections from Mill's own hand:

\* Whitby was as much against the Latin readings, as Mill was in favour of them: and, though he was of opinion that the fathers quoted the Greek Testament from memory, yet he paid more deference to their quotations, than to any manuscript.

hand : there are also some additions by Hearne. Griesbach, in the first volume of his *Symbolæ*, p. 241—304, has printed as many of them, as relate to the seventeen first chapters of St. Matthew, and all the epistles. In the latter a *Codex Hal.* is frequently quoted ; but what this abbreviation denotes no one at present knows.

12. The Greek Testament published by the learned Syndic of the city of Bremen, Gerard of Mastricht, was received in Germany with great applause. It was printed at Amsterdam in 1711, with *Prolegomena*, and various readings, which were taken partly from Fell's edition, partly from a manuscript in the imperial library, which the editor himself collated with great care. He calls himself in the title G. D. T. M. D. that is, *Gerardus de Trajecto Mosæ Doctor.*

Notwithstanding this work was so much commended on its first appearance, the late Bengel in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* p. 440 of the 1<sup>st</sup> edition, p. 76. of the second, speaks of it in very indifferent terms. It is certain that Mastricht was not happy in the choice of his readings : and as Mill's edition is so much more complete, the imperfect collection of readings exhibited by Mastricht seems to be of no use.

13. An anonymous Englishman published in London in 1729, *The New Testament, Greek and English*, 8<sup>vo</sup>. of which I can speak only from the accounts of others\*, as I have never seen it myself. The editor has presumed to make many alterations in the Greek text, not only where he had the authority of manuscripts, but frequently from mere conjecture. He has added an English translation, which runs with tolerable fluency, and likewise several notes, in which however we find no new extracts from manuscripts, but merely such as had been given by Mill. He goes upon the principle, that it is lawful for an editor to alter the text from conjecture, and ridicules those, who think it wrong to invent new readings. The common reading, Gal. iv. 25. he did not understand ; he made therefore

\* It is described in the *Memoirs of a library in Halle*, Vol. IV. p. 418. 419.

therefore an emendation, of the justness of which he is so very confident, that he censures Mill, for retaining the words *Σίνα ορος εστιν εν τη Αραβία*, because they are found in every manuscript, and adds, 'as if there was any manuscript so ancient as common sense.' This is a ridiculous and absurd affectation of wit. Whoever, like this editor, has not sufficient knowledge to comprehend the meaning of his author, will certainly be unable to find common sense in a passage, of which he knows not the meaning: but this is the fault of the interpreter, not of the author. And it would be surely a very extraordinary rule in the art of criticism, that common sense is to be preferred to the authority of all manuscripts; for though we may appeal to common sense, to shew what an author ought to have written, it is no criterion for determining what he actually has written†.

14. John Albert Bengel, Abbot of Alpirspach in the Dutchy of Würtemberg, became a critic, as he himself expresses it, per tentationem, or, in other words, he directed his attention to sacred criticism, in consequence of serious and anxious doubts. While he was a student at the University, he made use of that edition of the Greek Testament, which Professor Frank had printed at Halle from that of Bishop Fell; and being resolved not to form his principles of Theology from the system adopted in the academical lectures, he had recourse to the Greek Testament itself; but finding so great a number of various readings, which seemed to render his faith uncertain, he fell into a kind of despondency, which he concealed from his tutor, because he doubted whether he should obtain the satisfaction he required<sup>1</sup>. But this uneasiness, and the influence which it had on this mode of

† The late Wolf has confuted, in his *Curæ*, the innovations of this editor, which Leonhard Twells has done in a separate work, which I have never been able to procure<sup>55</sup>. In the *Memoirs* of a library in Halle this edition is described as a very bold undertaking against the doctrine of Christ's Divinity.

<sup>1</sup> See the account of his life in the *Apparatus criticus*, p. 699. 703. 2<sup>d</sup> ed.

of study, were very beneficial in their effects : and the consequence followed, which might be naturally expected, since a man who seeks after the genuine reading through scruples of conscience, will not only be more industrious in searching for materials of information, but will probably be more scrupulously exact in examining the evidence which they afford, than a man who exercises the art of criticism, merely because it is his profession, or because the study of it either gratifies his ambition, or indulges his private inclination. Bengel was not only diligent in the examination of various readings, but in the strictest sense of the word conscientious ; for he considered it as an offence against the Deity, if through his own fault, that is, through levity or carelessness, he introduced a false reading into the sacred text. His object was not merely to make a collection of readings, and leave the choice of them to the judgement of the reader, but to examine the evidence on both sides, and draw the inference : yet he has not given his own opinion so frequently as Mill, whom he resembled in his reverence for the Latin version, and in the preference which he gave to harsh and difficult readings, before those which were smooth and flowing. It may be observed in general, that he had a cool and sound judgement, though it did not prevent him from thinking too highly of the Latin readings, and of the Codex Alexandrinus, with other latinizing<sup>ss</sup> manuscripts. But it was certainly a fault in him, that he was too much attached to the opinions, which he had once formed, and that in the materials, which he left for a second edition of the Apparatus criticus, he paid so little attention to the objections which other critics had made to the mistakes of the first edition. It may be said however, as an extenuation of this fault, that, his character being naturally firm, he was induced to pay less attention to objections in general, because he had been often attacked by men without learning, and without judgement. There is another imperfection in his judgement, which I should have passed over in silence, if Wettstein had not taken par-



ticular notice of it. Namely, Bengel was of opinion, that in certain cases a kind of inward and spiritual grace might enable us to distinguish the genuine reading of the sacred text, from that which proceeded merely from human hands. Now I recollect no passage of scripture, in which the Deity has given a promise of this critical grace; and I am really of opinion, that if we followed its call, it would lead different critics to different conclusions. But whatever sentiments we entertain of the execution of his work in general, he will always retain the merit of being the first person who removed those suspicions, which had been entertained of sacred criticism, and of rendering its study more general, especially in Germany. He made known his design by a *Prodromus* printed at Tübingen in 1725, which was followed nine years afterwards by the *Greek Testament* itself, which was published at Tübingen in 1734, in 4<sup>to</sup>. He prefixed to it his *Introductio in crisin Novi Testamenti*, and subjoined to it his *Apparatus criticus*, and *Epilogus*. In his *Introductio in crisin* he treated of the manuscripts, versions, and editions, adding at the same time very rational critical rules; and he executed the whole in so clear and concise a manner, that the clergy in general, who had not directed their attention to sacred criticism, began to think that it was less dangerous, than they had imagined. The writings of Bengel therefore had more readers, than those of most critics; and his readers have become in general his friends and disciples.

He did not, as Mill had done, simply reprint the text of a former edition, but he really improved it, as far as he was able. But his diffidence, and caution, which was at that time necessary, prevented him from inserting in the text any reading, that had not already appeared in some printed edition, even though he believed it to be the genuine reading; by which means he avoided the reproach, which some persons might have made, of having published a new Bible<sup>7</sup>. In the book of Revelations alone he took the liberty of inserting readings, which had never been printed, because this book had

been printed from so few manuscripts, and in one passage had been printed by Erasmus from no manuscript whatsoever. Under the text he placed some select readings, but without quoting the evidence in their favour, which he reserved for his *Apparatus criticus*. His opinion of these marginal readings he expressed by Greek letters,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ , and some few other marks:  $\alpha$  denotes that he held it for genuine;  $\beta$  that its genuineness was not absolutely certain, but that the reading was still preferable to that in the text;  $\gamma$  that the reading of the margin was equal in value to the reading of the text, and that he doubted which of them he should prefer;  $\delta$  that the marginal reading was of less value; and  $\epsilon$  that it was absolutely spurious, though some critics had defended it. Now, whatever Wetstein may assert to the contrary, it cannot be denied that this is a very convenient method of improving the text.

His whole collection of various readings, with the evidence in their favour, and sometimes with his own sentiments upon them, he placed in his *Apparatus criticus*. This collection was chiefly taken from that of Mill; but Bengel omitted whatever he thought was of no importance, for which he has been censured by Wetstein, and, I believe, with reason. If Bengel had printed his various readings under the text, he might have been allowed to print only select readings, in order to save room: but as he printed them apart, and was not confined to a small compass of paper, he ought to have made his *Apparatus* as complete as possible. A reading, which seemed unimportant to Bengel, might appear to another critic to be of some consequence; and when extracts were given from manuscripts, which had never been collated before, every man wished to be acquainted even with such readings, as were manifest errata, in order to form a judgement of the value of the manuscripts themselves\*. To the readings, which Bengel borrowed  
from

\* Bengel himself acknowledges that it is useful to quote seemingly unimportant readings, and he is in this respect one of the most strenuous advocates of Mill. See his *Prodromus*, or his *Apparatus criticus*, p. 628. 2<sup>d</sup> ed.

from Mill, he made very considerable additions, which consisted partly in extracts from manuscripts, which had never been collated, partly in extracts, which had been printed by others, but had never been collected into one mass, and partly in readings, which he selected with greater accuracy than his predecessors, from the ancient versions<sup>1</sup>. These additions to Mill's collection make Bengel's *Apparatus* indispensable to a critic, not only because Wettstein has neglected to use a great part of Bengel's materials, but also because in those extracts, which Wettstein has copied from Bengel, errata may have taken place, which can be corrected only by referring to the original edition. It is likewise indispensable on the following account: Bengel quotes the authorities that are in favour of the text, as well as those which are in favour of the various readings, whereas Wettstein quotes only the latter, and leaves the reader therefore in a state of uncertainty, whether the reading of the text is supported by the authority of a hundred manuscripts, or by no authority whatsoever<sup>2</sup>.

From Bengel's Greek Testament have been printed several smaller editions, in which the critical apparatus is left out: but this was republished in 1763, after the death of the author, with those alterations, additions, and answers to objections, which he had left in manuscript, under the title of *Apparatus criticus ad Novum Testamentum*; which title includes more than in the first edition, in which the title of *Apparatus* was given to

<sup>1</sup> His own words are as follows, *Non solum Augustanos septem, Byzantinum, Hirsaugiensem, Moscuensem, Uffenbachianos duos MSS. codices contuli, quos duodecim Censura memorat. Sunt præterea Basileenses tres, Bodleianus unus apud Waltonum, Camerarianus, Dionysianus apud Gagnæum, Gehlianus, Parisinus unus apud Simonium, Wolfiani duo, complures apud L. Vallam, et J. Fabrum Stapulensem, fragmenta alia et excerpta, quæ Millio et Kustero intacta in apparatu meo congeffi. Antiquissimæ et longe gravissimæ translationi Latinæ tantundem facile operæ dicavi, quantum ipsi textui Græco. Accessere versiones Copticæ et Armenæ, in libris N. T. a Millio hac parte prætermisiss, a celeberrimo La Croze rogatu meo revisis, et multa alia versionum patrumque supplementa. Appar. crit. p. 656. ed. 2<sup>a</sup>.*

to the collection of readings alone. In the second edition, Bengel has not paid sufficient attention to the objections of his opponents, and he has let errors remain, which they had pointed out ; for instance, Rev. xv. 6. compared with Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 161. n. 12. But perhaps he would have made more alterations, than what he left written in the margin of his book, if he had lived to superintend the new edition himself.

I cannot conclude the account of Bengel's edition, without mentioning the principal persons who wrote against him ; for the attacks, which were made on him by the illiterate, neither merited the notice of Bengel, nor deserve to be mentioned here. Wolf has in his *Curæ* made several objections to Bengel in respect to the Revelation of St. John, and Baumgarten has done the same in his *Examen variantium lectionum in epistola Jacobi* ; to whom Bengel has replied in the second edition of his *Apparatus*. My father in his *Traëctatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T.* has made several objections to the opinions, which Bengel entertained of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, and he corrected several mistakes, which Bengel had made in regard to the Syriac version. This gave rise to a controversy, which was conducted with great coolness, and by no means affected the friendship that subsisted between the two parties. Whoever wishes to examine the arguments, which were advanced on both sides, may consult *Bengelii tractatio critica de sinceritate N. T. Græci tuenda, cum adspersis hic illic ab editore Christiano Benedicto Michaelis annotatiunculis*. Halæ, 1750. A warm adversary, and among the warm adversaries of Bengel by far the most able, was the celebrated Wetstein. This eminent critic used frequently in the latter part of his life to break out in expressions of violence against Bengel, which he would certainly have been ashamed to commit to writing ; but even in his writings he speaks of him with no inconsiderable warmth. Yet he sometimes censures, where he ought to have commended : for instance, p. 157. of his *Prolegomena*, he accuses Bengel of having in several instances altered his

opinion<sup>m</sup>; as if it were a disgrace to an author to enlarge his views during the progress of his work, and as if he had not done it himself in the period that elapsed between the publication of his first Prolegomena, and his edition of the Greek Testament, or between the time, when he formed his original plan, and the publication of his first Prolegomena. What Wetstein wrote against Bengel is contained partly in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, partly in the Prolegomena to the first part of his Greek Testament, p. 156—170. To the objections made in the former, Bengel replied in his *Defensio N. T. Græci Tubingæ editi*, which was published in 1737; but I know of no reply, that has been given to the objections made in the latter. Notwithstanding the violence, which Wetstein has displayed in his attacks upon Bengel, yet he was a man of such profound learning, that his objections deserve to be carefully examined. They relate either to errors of judgement, or mistakes in matters of fact; but the number of the latter is so inconsiderable, that the credit of Bengel's collection of various readings, in point of accuracy, has rather gained than lost by the controversy. Every man engaged in a work of considerable extent is exposed to the danger of error, and, though I have never examined the quotations of Wetstein with the same attention, as he has done those of Bengel, I could easily produce a greater number of mistakes from Wetstein's edition, than Wetstein has produced from that of Bengel.

15. I come now to the celebrated edition of John James Wetstein, which, of all the editions of the Greek Testament, is the most important, and the most necessary to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism. Of the exegetical use of this edition I have treated above, in the last section of the fourth chapter: at present I shall confine myself to the critical part of it, and consider it only in reference to the text of the Greek Testament, and its various readings. The reader will excuse my  
 prolixity

<sup>m</sup> Non maturi judicii est, sed inconstantia et levitatis speciem præbet, quod Bengelius in altero Prodromo a priore longe recessit, &c.

prolixity on this subject, not only because Wettstein's edition is of the utmost importance, but because its critical merits, during some time after its publication, were not thoroughly understood. It was impossible from the nature of the work itself, that the reviewers, who noticed it in their literary journals on its first appearance, should have sufficient knowledge of the subject; and nothing less than the constant use of it during many years could enable us to speak with any tolerable precision of a work, which contains a much greater number of readings, than the edition by Mill, (though he had given already thirty thousand) and which, in consequence of the numerous authorities, by which the various readings are supported, contains above a million of quotations.

Though it seems useless to inquire, whether a collector of various readings is orthodox, or heterodox, since the one may have as good eyes, as deep learning, and as much honesty, as the other; yet in the case of Wettstein, it is necessary to take some notice of his religious opinions. For if he acted unfairly in concealing his sentiments on points of religion, a suspicion might arise that he acted also unfairly in the statement of his evidence for the various readings of the Greek Testament. This subject is really of great importance, for as a third part perhaps of the manuscripts, which he quotes, have been collated by no one but himself, he is so far our only evidence, and we must rely entirely on his authority. It may be asked then, 1<sup>st</sup>, Whether he has quoted his manuscripts either falsely or imperfectly, in order to establish his own religious opinions? 2<sup>dly</sup>, whether his diligence and accuracy have been such, that we may at all times depend upon them?

The first of these questions I should make no scruple to answer in the negative, and to pronounce that Wettstein in his character of a critic is perfectly honest. For in the principal passages of the New Testament relative to the Divinity of Christ, in which no various reading had been quoted by former critics, Wettstein has likewise produced none; though many of the adversaries of that

doctrine have endeavoured to help themselves by critical conjecture. The two passages, to which I allude, are John i. 1. and Rom. ix. 5. in which a pious zeal might have induced a critic, who was not an impartial lover of the truth, to have confirmed the two conjectures of the Socinians, *καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*, and *ὢν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, by quoting false evidence in its favour; but Wetstein is perfectly free from this reproach, and the soundness of his critical judgement induced him to reject even the conjectures themselves. But his explanation<sup>a</sup> of the two passages is partial in a very high degree; and in the last passage he has made use of a finesse, that is inconsistent with honour and integrity, in placing his explanation, not among the notes at the bottom of the page, to which it properly belongs, but among the various readings<sup>60</sup>. This is all that can be laid to his charge; and if he has given no false quotations in passages, where he had points of doctrine to establish, we have no reason to suspect him in passages of less importance.

With respect to the second question, whether Wetstein has been sufficiently diligent and accurate in collating his manuscripts, and in his edition of the Greek Testament in general, it will appear from the examples, which I shall produce, that we have less reason to pronounce

<sup>a</sup> 'God who is over all be blessed for ever,' is the explanation of Wetstein, who understands it not of Christ but of the Father; and in support of his explanation quotes several passages from the fathers, who deny that *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* relates to Christ. He quotes also the celebrated passage of Julian, *τον γὰρ Ἰησοῦν οὕτε Πάυλος ἐπολόμενον εἰπεῖν θεῷ, οὕτε Ματθαῖος, οὕτε Μαρκοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ χρεῖος Ἰωάννης*. He concludes therefore that both Julian, and the fathers, whom he quotes, must have explained this passage in a manner different from that in which we explain it. Now this proof amounts to nothing; for though the evidence of Julian, as well as that of the fathers, is of importance, when the question relates to the readings of the Greek Testament, because their authenticity must be determined by the force of evidence; yet their explanation of a passage, and especially that given by Julian, cannot be admitted in determining a point of simple criticism. Wetstein therefore makes use of the dishonest finesse of quoting explanations among his *Variæ lectiones*, which must be determined not by opinions, but by facts.

nounce him faultless, than in regard to the first question.

Wetstein's Greek Testament was published at Amsterdam in 1751 and 1752, in two volumes folio. I will divide the description of it into three heads. 1. The Prolegomena. 2. The text, with the proposed alterations of the editor. 3. The collection of various readings.

He first published his Prolegomena in 1730, at Amsterdam, in 4<sup>to</sup>, without mentioning his name, under the following title: Prolegomena ad N. T. Græci editionem accuratissimam e vetustissimis codicibus MSS. denuoprocurandum: in quibus agitur de codicibus MSS. N. T., scriptoribus Græcis, qui N. T. usi fuerunt, versionibus veteribus, editionibus prioribus, et claris interpretibus; et proponuntur animadversiones et cautiones ad examen variarum lectionum N. T. necessariae. These Prolegomena were afterwards printed with his Greek Testament, with several alterations. For the arrangement is different, many important paragraphs are added, and the opinions, which the author had entertained, are in some places changed. This is highly commendable. The manuscripts, which were divided in the first edition of his Prolegomena into several classes, according to their antiquity, and the characters, in which they are written, are in the second edition divided into only two classes, those in the first class being denoted by letters, those in the second by figures; the arrangement of the manuscripts in each class is likewise different. This renders it difficult to find in the first edition a manuscript described in the second, which is sometimes necessary: and at the same time excites a suspicion that Wetstein made many mistakes, in altering the old marks, by which he denoted his manuscripts in the first edition, to those which he adopted in the second, for in so dry and tedious an employment it was almost impossible to avoid numerous errors. And when I consider that these arbitrary signs, in which the understanding is wholly un-employed, were to be changed in several hundred thousand



and instances, it appears to me that the alteration must have produced a great number of errata, not only in the Prolegomena, but also among the various readings. Perhaps those who were personally acquainted with Wetstein, and knew his method of proceeding, might communicate some information, that would do away our apprehensions on this subject; and it is principally with this view, that I have mentioned it at present, because if the same doubts arose a hundred years hence, it might be impossible to obtain a satisfactory answer<sup>61</sup>.

No man will deny that Wetstein's Prolegomena discover profound erudition, critical penetration, and an intimate acquaintance with the Greek manuscripts. It is a work, which in many respects has given a new turn to sacred criticism, and no man engaged in that study can dispense with it. Wherever Wetstein has delivered his sentiments respecting a Greek manuscript, which he has done less frequently than Mill, and indeed less frequently than we could have wished, he shews himself an experienced and sagacious critic. He is likewise more concise than Mill, in delivering his opinion, and does not support it by producing so great a number of readings from the manuscript in question. This conciseness is the consequence of that warmth and haste, which were peculiar to Wetstein's character, and which have sometimes given birth to mistakes. The fire of his disposition was likewise the cause of his advancing conjectures, in regard to the history of his manuscripts, which exceed the bounds of probability. But the critical rules, which he has delivered, are perfectly just; and in this respect there is a remarkable agreement between him and his eminent predecessors, Mill and Bengel. In regard to the Latin version alone they appear to differ, which in Mill and Bengel has powerful, and, perhaps, partial advocates, but in Wetstein a severe and sagacious judge, who sometimes condemns it without a cause. The Greek manuscripts, which confirm the readings of the Vulgate, and which he supposed had been corrupted from it, he of course condemned with equal severity: and some collections

lections of various readings, which had been made by catholics, he made no scruple to pronounce a forgery, saying, 'Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.' But in consequence of his antipathy to the Vulgate, his collection of various readings is less perfect, than it might have been.

Dr. Semler deserves the thanks of the public, for having published in an octavo volume the *Prolegomena* of Wetstein, and enriched them with his own notes. He is less inimical to the readings of the Vulgate than Wetstein, and the opposition, which the reader will find between the text and the notes, will enable him to examine the question on both sides, and therefore bring him nearer to the truth.

It was Wetstein's original intention to print the text of his Greek Testament from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, for in the early part of his life he subscribed to the general opinion, in regard to the supposed uncommon excellence of this manuscript. But, as his prejudice in favour of it abated, he abandoned his design, which was before he quitted Basel. His adversaries accused him of fickleness on this account; but he ought rather to be commended for having discovered errors in his former opinions, and acknowledging them to the public. He was afterwards the very person, through whom the *Codex Alexandrinus* lost so much of its credit; but perhaps he went too far in depreciating this manuscript, because it has readings which agree with the Latin versions.

Having given up the design of printing the *Codex Alexandrinus*, he resolved to establish a text formed on the authority of the most ancient and most valuable manuscripts. It is probable, as will appear in the sequel, that the alterations, which he would have made in the common text, would not have been very considerable: but, as he was suspected of entertaining Socinian principles, and the world might have supposed that his chief object was to propagate his own religious opinions, it was requested, if I mistake not, by the Arminians themselves, that he would make no alterations whatsoever.

This

This advice he very prudently followed, and printed the text of the Greek Testament, as it stands in the common editions, under the title *Novum Testamentum Græcum editionis receptæ*. The alterations, which he intended to have made, he pointed out partly in the text itself by a mark denoting a proposed omission, partly in the space which is between the text and the various readings, in which he noted those readings, which he preferred to the common text. The number of these proposed alterations is very moderate, and they are always supported by good authority. I have often wondered therefore that Wetstein is such an advocate for critical conjecture, as he has never preferred a reading, that rests upon conjecture without the evidence of a manuscript, to that of the common text.

It was reasonable to suppose, that he would not be wholly impartial in the passages, which relate to the divinity of Christ. But he has in no instance gone so far, as to alter a reading from conjecture, though in passages, in which various readings could be found, he has chosen that, from which no proof can be drawn of the doctrine in question. The celebrated passage 1 John v. 7. he believed to be spurious, for which he has assigned his reasons at full length: and I believe that in this point he was not mistaken. But he is not to be defended in preferring *τὸ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ* to *τὸ ΘΕΟΝ*, Acts xx. 28. and *ὁ σπαρασθεὶς* to *Θεὸς σπαρασθεὶς*, 1 Tim. iii. 16. the common reading of which two passages is defended by Baumgarten, in his *Vindiciæ vocis Θεός*, 1 Tim. iii. 16. and by Ernesti in his *Specimen castigationum Wetstenii* <sup>62</sup>.

The alterations, which Wetstein proposed, have been received into the text of an edition of the Greek Testament published by Bowyer, the learned printer, under the following title: *Novum Testamentum Græcum ad fidem Græcorum solum codicum MSS. nunc primum expressum, adstipulante Joanne Jacobo Wetstenio, juxta sectiones Jo. Alberti Bengelii divisum, et nova interpunctione sæpius illustratum. Accessere in altero volumine emendationes conjecturales virorum doctorum undecunque*

decunque collectæ. Londini, curâ, typis et sumptibus G. B. 1763. The words, which he proposed to omit, without substituting others in their stead, are retained in this edition, but inclosed in brackets. In the second volume, p. 464—475. is a catalogue of those readings adopted by Wetstein, which differ from the text of Mill's edition, or, which is the same thing, the third edition of Robert Stephens. If we except the book of Revelation, in which the alterations are so numerous, that Bowyer has not included them in his catalogue, they amount to only three hundred and thirty-four, which is a very moderate number, when we consider that many of them relate to niceties of no great importance, and that many of the rest are found in other editions. It may be observed, that Bowyer has neglected to note in this catalogue 1 John v. 7. which Wetstein rejected as spurious, but in the text itself he has not neglected to include it in brackets.

Wetstein's collection of various readings, which to a critic is the most valuable part of his publication, far surpasses the collections of Mill and Bengel: and Wetstein has not only produced a much greater quantity of matter than his predecessors, but has likewise corrected their mistakes. The extracts from manuscripts, versions, and printed editions of the Greek Testament, which had been quoted by Mill, are generally \* quoted by Wetstein. Whenever Wetstein had no new extracts from the manuscripts quoted by Mill, or had no opportunity of examining them himself, he copied literally from Mill; but wherever Mill has quoted from printed editions, as from the margin of Robert Stephens's for instance, or from the London Polyglot, Wetstein did not copy from Mill, but went to the original source, as appears from his having corrected many mistakes in Mill's quotations. It were to be wished however that Wetstein had examined every quotation made by Mill, and had retained every thing, which he found to be accurate. For it is certain that

\* I say generally quoted, because it will appear in the sequel that Wetstein has not done it always.

that Wettstein has omitted many of Mill's quotations, in which it does not appear that Mill was mistaken; and of some of them I can confidently assert, from my own experience, that they are perfectly right. The Barberini and Veleſian readings Wettstein has deſignedly omitted; and the Vulgate he has quoted leſs frequently than Mill, as alſo ſome other verſions, and the works of the fathers. Even the Greek manuſcripts, which he himſelf collated, he has often neglected to quote for readings, which Mill had produced from the ſame manuſcripts<sup>p</sup>. I will not deny that in moſt of theſe inſtances Mill might have been miſtaken, and that Wettstein omitted his quotations becauſe they were erroneous. But is it not poſſible that Wettstein himſelf was ſometimes miſtaken, and that he overlooked readings, which Mill had accurately quoted? Wettstein had ſo much fire in his character, that he could hardly avoid being ſometimes too precipitate: and, as it will appear from the examples which I ſhall produce, that he collated in a negligent manner, it is reaſonable to conclude that as Mill was often miſtaken on the one hand, ſo Wettstein was not ſeldom miſtaken on the other. It would have been of great ſervice, if in thoſe caſes, in which Wettstein omits what Mill had quoted, he had made uſe of ſome mark to denote that Mill was miſtaken. We ſhould then be certain whether he omitted a reading by accident or deſign, and ſhould readily give credit to his declaration; but ſince he has uſed no ſuch mark, I know of no other method of determining the queſtion with any accuracy, than to make a collection of all the readings in Mill's Greek Teſtament, which are omitted in that of Wettstein, and to have recourſe to the original documents, from which they are quoted, in order to determine, whether they are actually there, or not<sup>q</sup>.

The readings which Mill had quoted from printed editions,

<sup>p</sup> See my *Curæ* in *Actus Apoſtolorum Syriacos*, § vii. in the remarks on Acts vii. 29. xii. 14. xiii. 1. xvi. 22. 37. xviii. 8. xix. 18. 27. xxi. 21. To which I will add another inſtance, Luke xxiv. 18. where he has neglected to quote the various reading *ut* for *et*, on which Bengel may be conſulted. Here then Wettstein is hardly to be defended<sup>q</sup>.

editions, ancient versions, and the works of the fathers, have been corrected by Wetstein where they were erroneous, and augmented where they were deficient. He was likewise the first who gave extracts from the Philoxenian Syriac version: and the extracts, which Bengel first produced from several Greek manuscripts, he has taken into his own collection; but here he has been guilty of several omissions, for instance a reading in Luke xxiv. 18. mentioned in the preceding note<sup>65</sup>. Many Greek manuscripts, which had been imperfectly collated, he collated anew, or procured fresh extracts from his literary friends; and he has procured extracts from a very great number, which before his time had never been collated. Nor has he neglected to quote the critical conjectures of others, though he has not ventured to make any himself, or to insert in the text those which had been made by others<sup>66</sup>. In short, he has performed more than all his predecessors put together. But whether Wetstein has collated his manuscripts with sufficient accuracy, and neglected nothing worthy of notice, is a question that deserves to be examined. Those only, who reside where the manuscripts themselves are preserved, can decide with any certainty upon this subject; but if we may conclude from the data, which are actually in our hands, the manuscripts stand in need of a fresh collation. I will quote some examples, in which I have found Wetstein defective in his extracts from printed editions, ancient versions, and the works of the fathers.

He censures, in his Prolegomena, p. 109. the quotations which Mill had made from the Syriac version. Now as Mill was unacquainted with Syriac, and Wetstein understood the language, one might naturally expect to find in his edition the most complete extracts. But I would recommend to my readers to consult on this subject the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § 13. It will there appear,

1. That Wetstein has omitted many remarkable readings of the Syriac version, though not so many as Mill,  
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who has omitted them by hundreds, in one and the same book.

2. That Wettstein has even omitted readings of the Syriac version, which Mill had accurately quoted: for instance, Acts ii. 15. xiv. 13. xxiii. 9<sup>67</sup>. I will add at present two other examples. The words of the Syriac translator Acts viii. 21. are *ܡܢ ܠܘܠܘܬܐ*, as if he had found in the Greek copy, from which he translated, *ἐν τῇ ψικεῖ ταυτῇ*, instead of the common reading *ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ταύτῳ*: and, as the same reading is expressed in the Arabic version published by Erpenius, it must have been a very early reading of the Syriac version. Mill rightly quoted “*οὗδε κληρος ἐν τῇ ψικεῖ ταυτῇ*, Syr. Ambrosius; and *ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ταύτῳ, οὗδε κληρος ἐν τῇ ψικεῖ ταυτῇ*. Constit. Apostol. L. VI. cap. 7.” But all this is omitted by Wettstein. In another difficult passage, Acts viii. 26: he quotes the Syriac version inaccurately, saying that it omits *αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ὁδὸς*, which it does not, for it expresses ‘on the desert way, which leadeth from Jerusalem to Gaza’<sup>68</sup>. If he has acted as negligently in regard to his Greek manuscripts, most of which he had only a short time in his hands, we must conclude that in many of those examples, in which Wettstein has tacitly omitted what Mill had quoted, that the fault is not on the side of Mill, but of Wettstein.

To collate the New Syriac Version, Wettstein took a journey to England. We are indebted to him for the pains which he has taken; and, as he did not undertake to give complete extracts from it, we must be satisfied with what he actually performed. But Ridley has observed, that even of these extracts, as well from the text, as from the margin, many are inaccurate<sup>69</sup>.

I have observed above, that Wettstein’s quotations from the Vulgate are very incomplete. It is true that he was no friend to the Latin version; but though he had a right to pass judgement upon a reading, after he had produced the evidence on both sides, yet impartiality required that he should leave no evidence unheard, what-  
ever

ever opinion he himself entertained of it. He has omitted the various reading of the Vulgate *επειρασεν* for *επληρωσεν*, Acts v. 3. though it is noticed by many, even among the commentators. Another instance is Acts iii. 19. *οπως αν ελθωσι καιροι*, where we find in the Vulgate *ut cum* *venerint tempora*: the Greek manuscript therefore, from which that version was made, must have had *εαν*, instead of *αν*<sup>70</sup>. Now if *εαν* were the genuine reading, it would alter the whole construction; for the words, ‘that, when the times of refreshing are come,’ would then form a protasis, and the words ‘he shall send Jesus Christ,’ the apodosis<sup>71</sup>: though this is not the construction of the Vulgate, which in this passage is devoid of meaning. Tertullian has ‘ut superveniant;’ the Latin version therefore, which he used, must have been made by a translator, who joined *αν* to *ελθωσι*, and read *οτως ανελθωσι*. The Codex Cantabrigienfis has *οπως επελθωσιν*, which is translated from the Latin superveniant<sup>72</sup>. Now of these readings, Wetstein quotes only that of the Codex Cantabrigienfis, though Mill has quoted *ut cum* from the Vulgate<sup>73</sup>, and *ut* from Tertullian. The other example is 1 Cor. xii. 11. where several authorities omit *ιδια*. Now it is true, that Wetstein has taken notice of the omission; but he has neglected to mention that among these authorities are the Syriac and the Vulgate<sup>74</sup>. This neglect is the more inexcusable, as it is not only mentioned by Mill and Bengel, but Wetstein himself quotes Beza as having approved of the omission of *ιδια*; and Beza, in the note, to which he alludes, says *Vetus interpres non legit, ut nec Syrus nec Arabs interpres, ut mihi plane videatur horum duorum ιδια et εκασω unum esse alterius glossema*.

Of Wetstein’s imperfect extracts from the Arabic and Ethiopic

<sup>70</sup> *Και* before *απεσπλην* would make the apodosis, and be a Hebraism; *οπως, εαν ελθωσι καιροι αναψυχως απο προσωπα τη Κυριω, και (tum) αποσπλην, &c*<sup>71</sup>. It is true that this reading is attended with grammatical difficulties, and I do not believe that is the true reading; yet it deserved to be noted, as it is not impossible that *εαν* might be found in Greek manuscripts, if they were accurately examined.



Ethiopic versions, and of his neglecting to quote from the Armenian version the remarkable reading in Acts vi. 9. which I mentioned ch. vii. § 20. I take no notice, because Wetstein did not collate these versions himself. See his Prolegomena, p. 111. and Vol. II. p. 454.

But I cannot pass over an example, in which Wetstein has not only neglected to quote what Erasmus had asserted of some Latin manuscripts, but has quoted the Syriac version inaccurately, though it is a passage which particularly deserves the attention of a critic. It is Acts vii. 43. where the martyr Stephen quotes from the prophet Amos *μετοικισα υμας επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος*, a reading, which differs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Now Erasmus, in his note to this passage, says, in nonnullis exemplaribus reperi mutatum *trans* in *in*. Wetstein has taken no notice of this, which however is not a very material fault, because the printed editions of the Vulgate have *trans*; and it shews only that Wetstein's extracts from Erasmus are incomplete. In the same place he likewise neglects to mention what Mill had quoted from the Ethiopic version, and Wechel's edition; in the former of which the whole reading is omitted, and in the latter, for *επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος*, is *επεκεινα Δαμασκου*<sup>75</sup>. And instead of quoting these authorities, which he ought not to have neglected, he has quoted the Syriac version, which he ought to have omitted, because it does not differ from the common Greek. The Syriac is *ܠܡܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ*, which exactly corresponds to *επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος*: but Wetstein in his hurry observed only *ܡܕܢܚܐ*, overlooking the important word, *ܠܡܢ*, which entirely alters the sense, and has quoted *ex* as the reading of the Syriac<sup>76</sup>. And as he has quoted the same reading from the New Syriac, it is probable that he is equally mistaken in regard to that version. This is the man, whose diligence and accuracy has been so extolled, that, when I took the liberty, in reviewing his Greek Testament, in the *Relationes de libris novis*, to censure his explanation of several passages, especially of such as relate to the Divinity of Christ, his friends were extremely offended, and challenged me to produce  
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a single critical mistake. I confess, that at that time I had no idea of their being so numerous; nor did I call in question the accuracy of his various readings, till I had discovered so many examples of negligence, which have presented themselves unfought<sup>7</sup>.

The same negligence is observable in Westein's quotations from the fathers. I would not insist that a collector of various readings should pass over none, that are found in the works of the fathers: but we may reasonably expect, that he should omit none, which his predecessors have already quoted, when their quotations are accurate; and that he should give complete extracts from the works of such fathers as have commented on whole books of the New Testament. But Wettstein has done neither; and even from the commentary of Theophylact on the Acts of the Apostles, which he boasts (Vol. II. p. 454.) of having accurately collated, he gives very imperfect extracts. This was observed by Ernesti, p. 8, 9. of his *Specimen castigationum in Wettstenii Novum Testamentum*<sup>8</sup>. I can speak likewise from my own experience; for having had occasion to collate the text of Theophylact, when I read lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, I compared it with the extracts which had been given by Wettstein, and found them extremely

<sup>7</sup> Acts i. 18. non notavit, dignum autem erat notatu, Laurentium Sifanum ad Theophylactum in Acta in margine notare, antiquissimum exemplum, quo usus sit, pro ελακνῆσι habuisse ελακισι, quod est a λακίζω, bono verbo.—Atqui in Prolegomenis ad Acta, p. 454. diserte tradit illud Theophylacti exemplum, quod per Sifanum Coloniae curatum est, cum editione recepta accurate se contulisse.—Cap. ii. 9. commemorat conjecturas Erasmi Schmidii, aliorumque recentiorum nomen Ιουδαίων tentantium. Quid erat, quare negligeret Tertulliani et Augustini lectionem, 'Armeniam,' quum non ut de conjectura, sed ut e libris haustam ponunt, dudum Millio et Bengelio notatam? Quare non Ιουδαίαν abesse in exemplaribus Theophylacti?—Cap. xv. 10. ad verba οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς θεῶν, tradit Bezae et Bengelio placere vocem θεῶν omitti. Quanto gravior futura erat Hieronymi nequamquam tacenda auctoritas, qui hoc ipsum verbum in Comment. in Epist. ad Galat. v. i. omittit, ita verba citans, 'quid tentatis, inquit, jugum imponere?' quod notatam Bengelio supina negligentia prætermisissum est.

tremely defective, In the seven first chapters alone I have remarked thirty-two readings, which Wetstein has omitted: he has therefore omitted nearly as many as he has quoted. That my readers may not suppose that these thirty-two readings relate merely to trifles, I will mention a few examples in the note<sup>6</sup>: and it is certain that Wetstein himself considered the greatest part of them as important, appears from the circumstance, that

<sup>6</sup> Ch. ii. 25. In the text of Theophylact is *ἐκ δέξιν μου εἶναι*, the same reading as is found in the Greek Testament: but Sifanus has observed in his note to this passage, that Theophylact explains it in his commentary, as if he had read not *εἶναι* but *εἶναι*<sup>78</sup>.

Ch. iv. 1. Theophylact has *εὐαγγέλιον τῆ κεφαλῆς*, instead of the common reading, *εὐαγγέλιον τῆ κεφαλῆς*. This is unnoticed by Wetstein<sup>79</sup>.

Ch. vii. 4. Wetstein has thought proper to quote, from the Complutensian edition, and from several manuscripts, a reading that is really a grammatical error, namely *μεταφρονέει*<sup>80</sup>. It is a reading which gives no sense, if it be followed by *αὐτῶν*: yet Wetstein has neglected to mention that *αὐτῶν* is wanting in some documents, though it was observed by Camerarius. But what I have to observe at present is, that Theophylact has *μεταφρονέει* without *αὐτῶν*, a reading which is perfectly clear and accurate, yet omitted by Wetstein.

Ch. vii. 5. instead of the common reading *καὶ τῷ σπικματι*, Theophylact has *καὶ τὸ σπικμα*, which totally alters the sense<sup>81</sup>.

Ch. vii. 6. our common editions have *καὶ δουλῶσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κακῶσιν αὐτοῦ*, where there are only two verbs; but in the correspondent passage of the Septuagint, Gen. xv. 13. there are three verbs, *καὶ κακῶσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δουλῶσιν αὐτῆς, καὶ ταπεινώσιν αὐτῆς*. Theophylact found likewise three verbs in his Copy of the Acts of the Apostles, though they are different from those in the Septuagint, *καὶ δουλῶσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραδουλῶσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κακῶσιν αὐτοῦ*.

Wetstein is equally negligent in his quotations from Theophylact in the other books of the New Testament.

I Cor. vii. 16. *ἡ μὴ* is a various reading to *ἡ μὴ*. This is noted by Wetstein, but he has not quoted Theophylact, though the Greek father is very diffuse in his account of it. It is true that he rejects it as spurious, as Mill has observed<sup>82</sup>.

I Cor. viii. 11. Theophylact observes expressly, that Chrysostom has *ἐπὶ τῇ βρωσί*, instead of the common reading *ἐπὶ τῇ γαστρί*. It is noted by Mill and Bengel, but omitted by Wetstein, though the reading is ancient, important, and certainly quoted by Chrysostom<sup>83</sup>.

that he has quoted them from other documents. Wetstein's negligence is here the more inexcusable, as Sifanus has noted in the margin those passages which differ from the common text of the Greek Testament. If then he was so negligent, where it was so easy to discover variations, what must we expect of his extracts from Greek manuscripts?

Wetstein's extracts from printed editions of the Greek Testament I have never examined, except that I have consulted the Complutensian edition for those readings, which Saubert quotes from the Codex Ravianus. Of these I have discovered six that are omitted by Wetstein; four of them relate indeed to trifles of grammar only, but the other two relate to the transposition of words, of which Wetstein has generally taken notice. I have already observed that his extracts from the Geneva edition of 1620 are very imperfect, and in ten examples totally false: but I will not consider this as a very material fault, as the edition of Geneva is not one of the principal editions of the Greek Testament, and was perhaps for that reason less accurately collated by Wetstein.

Of Wetstein's extracts from Greek manuscripts, which he alone has collated, or which he has more fully collated than his predecessors, I am unable to judge, because I have not access to the manuscripts themselves. But if we may judge from the examples that have been given from the Syriac version and Theophylact, we shall not conclude that all his quotations are accurate, especially from manuscripts which he collated only once, nor accuse Mill of inaccuracy, where he has quoted readings that Wetstein has totally omitted.

Thus far I had written in the edition of 1765. Since that time several Paris manuscripts have been again consulted, either in single pages, or single books. The result of these inquiries I have given in the *Orient. Bibl.* to which I refer my readers for further information\*. Of the Codex Coislianus 199 Wetstein says, *contuli quæ potui diligentia*: yet Professor Storr found, in the four chapters

\* See Vol. IV. p. 196. Vol. VI. p. 7. Vol. IX. No 151<sup>84</sup>.

chapters of the book of Revelation, not less than seventeen various readings, that Wettstein had overlooked. Trefchow has likewise produced examples in his *Tentamen*, p. 15, 16.; but at the same time he apologizes for Wettstein. Dr. Lefs found the manuscripts, which he examined, to have been accurately collated by Wettstein.

But a circumstance remains to be mentioned, which renders Wettstein's quotations extremely uncertain. It is possible that Wettstein was not sufficiently accurate in arranging his quotations from manuscripts, and other documents, in proper order, and that he placed in one line, references which belonged to another, a mistake which might easily have happened in spite of the utmost care, where references are made by figures<sup>a</sup>. It is likewise possible that he was not sufficiently accurate in correcting the work, as it went through the press: and if the errors of the compositor remained uncorrected, in a publication like that of Wettstein's Greek Testament, the reader is led into mistakes, which it is not in his power to amend. In other works, the errors of the press, though they are certainly defects, may be detected from the general connection; and it is possible that several errata may be found in this Introduction, as I have not had sufficient time to correct my own publications<sup>b</sup>. Now that sufficient care was not bestowed on the correction of Wettstein's Greek Testament, is evident from the inaccuracy even of the text itself, where it was infinitely easier to detect errors, than among the various readings. At the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, the address *ω Θεοφιλε* is omitted: and in the Prolegomena he ascribes wrong figures to his manuscripts, so that it is difficult sometimes to ascertain his meaning<sup>c</sup>. What then must we expect in the references among the various readings? which amount to above a million, and where the

<sup>a</sup> I have taken notice of an erratum of this kind, where 30 is printed for 31, in the sixth section of the Chapter relating to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, N° 90.

<sup>c</sup> See the Note to N° 61. ch. viii, § 6. of this Introduction<sup>ee</sup>.

the eye, and the patience of the most diligent corrector must soon be wearied. Besides, Wetstein has increased the difficulty, by quoting his manuscripts, not by abbreviations, as Mill had done, but by figures; and even these are different, in the different parts of his Greek Testament. The following are instances of inaccuracy, which have occurred to me in the course of my reading. Acts i. 26. the article  $\delta$  is omitted in the text before κληρος, and ch. vii. 39. υμων is falsely printed for ημων: mistakes, which create confusion in the various readings to those words<sup>87</sup>. Acts v. 24. there is a reference among the various readings, which belongs to a different place. Wetstein's quotation is, ο τε ιερεις και ο γραττηγος τω ιερει, και οι αρχιερεις] οι αρχιερεις και ο γραττηγος τω ιερει. Vers. Syr. 2 Maccab. iii. 22. Now the reference 2 Maccab. iii, 22. belongs to the 23<sup>d</sup> verse, and should have been noted not among the various readings, but in the notes at the bottom of the page. For in the 23<sup>d</sup> verse is used the expression κεκλεισμενον εν παση ασφαλεια, to which Wetstein meant to produce a similar expression from the second book of the Maccabees, namely; διαφομασσειν μετα πασης ασφαλειας. Acts vii. 29. the common reading is ου εγεννησεν υιους δυο: but as a various reading to ου, Wetstein quotes και, from his Codex 28. Now this must be an error of the press, for Codex 28 is the Sinaiticus, which Mill has not quoted for this reading: but he quotes the Codex Covelli 3, which is Wetstein's Codex 26. And we cannot suppose that the fault is on the side of Mill, from whom Wetstein has borrowed his extracts from these two manuscripts, as appears from his own words; for he says only that he saw them, and makes no mention of having collated them: 'istos codices vidi anno 1714 et 1716<sup>88</sup>.'

These inaccuracies have been very materially augmented by Wetstein's mode of notation, who substituted letters and figures to the abbreviations which had been used by Mill. Now if an abbreviation occurs above a thousand times, and each time a certain figure is to be written for it, it is almost impossible to avoid

sometimes writing wrong: even if Wettstein had made no mistakes in writing, it was almost impossible for the compositor to avoid them in printing; and errata in figures, where the eye only can be employed, are extremely difficult to detect<sup>89</sup>. Lastly, the alterations which Wettstein made in the classification of his manuscripts must have been a source of numerous errors: for as he denoted his manuscripts, in the second edition of his *Prolegomena*, by marks different from those, which he had used in the first, he was of course obliged to alter all his references, and to translate as it were from figures into figures; but this is an undertaking of such a nature, that every man, who is not a bare machine for reckoning, must unavoidably fail. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, as Wettstein was so inaccurate in cases where he was less exposed to the danger of mistake, that the number of errors, which arose from this transformation, is very material<sup>90</sup>.

There are other inconveniencies, to which the reader is exposed by Wettstein's method of noting his manuscripts. Figures, especially if they are numerous, are more difficult to retain in the memory, than names. When I hear of a *Codex Rhodiensis*, I have some determinate idea of a manuscript of the Greek Testament; but the title *Codex 50* excites in me no idea whatsoever. Few persons perhaps have used Wettstein's Greek Testament more than myself, yet, after a lapse of above thirty years, I am hardly able to decypher a dozen manuscripts without having recourse to the Index: and, however bad my memory may be, I will venture to assert, that no man whatsoever is able to retain all the marks, which Wettstein has used to denote his manuscripts. And to make the difficulty still greater, he has used a four-fold notation, so that the same number, which denotes a manuscript in one part, does not denote it in another. For instance, the *Codex Leicestrensis* is denoted in the first part by the number 69, in the second part by 37, in the third by 31, in the fourth by 14. Again, the figure 15 denotes in the first part the *Codex Regius*

2868, or Kusteri Parisiensis 8; in the second part the same figure denotes the Codex Amandi, in the third the Coislinianus 25, and in the fourth the Fragmentum Basileense<sup>91</sup>. It is surely beyond the power of human memory to retain the whole of this complicated notation; and we are reduced to the necessity, either of consulting the index, in order to know the meaning of each quotation; or to content ourselves with being informed of the number, without knowing the quality of the quoted manuscripts<sup>92</sup>.

Yet, after having weighed the numerous defects of Wettstein's Greek Testament with its numerous excellencies, we may pronounce it an edition of such importance, as to be indispensable to every man, who is engaged in sacred criticism<sup>93</sup>. It deserves to be revised, in order to correct its errors, and supply its deficiencies: but, as this would be an undertaking too great for any one man, it were to be wished that those who have access to libraries, would collate again the several manuscripts which Wettstein has quoted. The copy of Wettstein's Greek Testament, which is in my possession, I have endeavoured to make as complete as possible, for the service of posterity. The principal additions, which I have made to it, are the following:

a) Extracts from the Codex Molsheimensis, Guelpherbytanus A and B, and the Codex Ravianus in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

b) Extracts from the Gothic version of Ulphilas in the four Gospels, according to the corrections which have been made by Ihre: also from the fragments of the Gothic version of the epistle to the Romans.

c) Extracts from the Latin versions, published by Blanchini, especially in the Gospel of St. Mark.

d) Extracts from the Syriac version, and the Arabic version, which was made from it, especially in the Gospel of St. Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles.

e) Extracts from Theophylact, in the Acts of the Apostles.

f) Extracts



f) Extracts from the Geneva edition of 1620, communicated to me by Schmidt.

These extracts I had written in the margin of Wetstein's Greek Testament, when I published the second edition of this Introduction in 1765. Since that time I have made many important additions, which would be too great a trespass on the time of the reader to relate.

16. Father Goldhagen published at Mayntz, in 1753, an edition of the Greek Testament, which I mention in this catalogue, because he subjoined some readings from the Molsheim manuscript. Dr. Semler, in his 'Minute examination of the bad state of the text of the Complutensian Greek Testament,' has given a collation of the Complutensian with Goldhagen's edition. From what edition this editor took his text, I have never been able to discover<sup>94</sup>.

17. Dr. John James Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament was first printed in the year 1775. Since that time it has been re-printed<sup>95</sup>; and in 1785 he printed the first volume of his *Symbolæ criticæ ad suppleandas et corrigendas variorum N. T. lectionum collectiones*: a work which is necessary for every man, who uses his Greek Testament. This edition is chiefly an extract from that of Wetstein, whose numbers and figures, used to denote the manuscripts, are retained by Griesbach. But he has likewise made very considerable additions, which consist partly in extracts from manuscripts, which he collated on his travels; partly in those readings, which were written by Mill in the margin of his Greek Testament, and were copied by Griesbach; partly in extracts from the works of Origen, which he has made his principal study, and has collated more accurately, than any of his predecessors. The manuscripts which he has collated, at least so many of them as he has described in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, I have noticed ch. viii. § 6. He has also quoted extracts from manuscripts, which had been lately collated by other critics, for instance, by Treschow<sup>96</sup>. This edition, which is of a very convenient and portable size, is that which is  
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principally used by the students in our Universities: it is at the same time an edition, with which no Professor can dispense, though every man, who makes a profession of literature, would wish to see an edition by the same editor, in which no various reading is omitted, which had been accurately quoted by Wetstein. It is true, that in consequence of many omissions that have been made by Griesbach, his book has become more convenient and portable, and is therefore admirably adapted to the use of students. And it was certainly his design to omit only such readings as appeared to him to be of little or no importance: but as this is mere matter of opinion, and one critic may consider a reading as important, which appears trifling to another, we cannot consider Griesbach's as the principal edition, but must also have recourse to that of Wetstein. The following are examples of various readings, quoted by Wetstein, but omitted by Griesbach: Matth. ii. 6. *της Ιερουσαλαμ*, a reading which is supported by ancient evidence, and by some critics preferred to the common reading, though I believe it to be nothing more than a correction: Matth. v. 46. *ἐθνικοι*: Matth. xxi. 41. the omission of *λεγουσιν αὐτῷ*, which materially alters the sense: Matth. xxvii. 60. the omission of *αὐτῃ*, which entirely alters the sense: and of *δε* Matth. xxviii. 1. He has likewise neglected to note the addition of *καὶ πυρὶ*, Mark i. 8. and in the whole of this Gospel, where *ἐνθως* has been quoted as a various reading in addition to the common text, he has generally left it out<sup>97</sup>; yet as *ἐνθως* seems to have been a favourite particle with St. Mark, it is reasonable to suppose that in all cases it was used by the author, not added by a transcriber. Mark iv. 22. he has omitted *εἰ μὴ*, a various reading to *ἀλλὰ*, which, beside the authorities quoted by Wetstein, (some of which however are not just) is supported by the evidence of the Cod. Brixienfis, and Veronenfis<sup>98</sup>. Mark vi. 8. he has neglected to quote *μόνην* for *μονον*, ch. ix. 2. *ἀναγεί* for *ἀναφέρει*, both of them indeed the correction of a copyist; and ch. x. 17. the various readings to *γονυ-*

γουνπετησας αυτον, which may be still augmented from the Latin versions. Luke iii. 1. he has not noted the omission of τετραρχυντος, a reading of which I took notice ch. viii. § 6. N° 207, and which seems to be spurious: at least the narrative of St. Luke is more agreeable to the Jewish history, if it is left out<sup>99</sup>. Luke v. 29. he has omitted the various reading ανακειμενοι, and ch. xi. 3. σημερον, a various reading to το καθ' ημεραν; but I acknowledge that the former is a mere correction, and the latter an interpolation from St. Matthew. Luke xv. 15. he has omitted to quote αγρον, a various reading to αγρις, which being supported by the authority of one manuscript only, quoted by Wetstein, might appear unworthy of notice; but it is authenticated by other ancient and important evidence<sup>100</sup>. In the same verse he has not observed the omission of αυτα, though this, as well as the former reading, has some influence on the explanation of the passage. He has likewise omitted the reading εγκακειν for εκκακειν, Luke xviii. 1.; ονοματι for αιματι, xxii. 20.; and λεγοντες for λεγοντας, xxiv. 3. a very important reading, which alters the whole sense. Lastly, he has neglected to note the reading δειπνυ γινομενυ, John xiii. 2. which is of such importance, that it removes the whole difficulty, with which the passage is otherwise attended. See what I have said on this subject, ch. viii. § 6. N° 207. The examples, which I have here produced, are not all of equal importance, but they are such as most critics would expect to find in a collection of various readings. But as different persons examine the same subject from different points of view, it necessarily follows, that what appears important to one, will sometimes appear unimportant to another<sup>101</sup>.

It may be also mentioned, that there are many other various readings of great importance, which are not contained in Griesbach's edition. The readings, to which I now allude, are such as are not to be found in Wetstein; and Griesbach himself has not examined all the documents, which are known at present, not even the Latin versions<sup>102</sup>. But as no one can be expected to perform more than he has promised, the foregoing observation

implies

implies only that Griesbach's edition has not exhausted all the critical sources, to which we have access; and that we must live in hopes of a more perfect edition, which I could wish to see from the same hand<sup>103</sup>.

As Griesbach has collated the writings of Origen more accurately than any of his predecessors, and yet has neglected to quote him in many instances, where the Greek father is quoted by Wettstein, I wish that he would publish a catalogue of those readings, which his predecessors had quoted falsely, or, which would be still more advantageous, his extracts from Origen entire. This might be done in his *Symbolæ*, and would remove those doubts, which necessarily arise, where Origen is quoted by Wettstein, but not by Griesbach.

18. Christian Frederic Matthäi, Professor formerly in Moscow, at present in Wittenberg, has published the Greek Testament, with various readings taken from Moscow manuscripts<sup>104</sup>; to which he has added the Latin Vulgate copied from a Demidovian manuscript, many critical remarks, Greek Scholia, and copper-plates representing the characters of his Greek manuscripts. He published the seven catholic epistles in 1782, also the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle to the Romans, with those to Titus and Philemon in 1782, the two epistles to the Corinthians in 1783, those to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians in 1784, the epistles to the Thessalonians and Timothy in 1785, and in the same year the Revelation of St. John. The Gospels of St. Luke and St. John were published in 1786. The books which remain to be published, appear from those which I have here enumerated<sup>105</sup>.

Matthäi has made his collection of various readings with great labour and diligence; he found in his manuscripts a confirmation of many readings, which I should have hardly expected, because they are the readings of manuscripts of a different kind, and of a different country from those which he used: nay, even those of the Western edition, of which he speaks with the utmost contempt, he has corroborated by the evidence of his Moscow manuscripts. This edition is absolutely necessary

fary for every man, who is engaged in the criticism of the Greek Testament. But it is to be lamented that the editor has augmented the price of it by several unnecessary additions, particularly by the addition of the Latin Vulgate, of which we have much better copies than the Demidovian manuscript in Russia. It would have been better if the various readings had been printed alone, which would have taken up a much smaller compass, and have been sufficient for the purpose. In his notes he has made many valuable observations, especially in regard to the *Lecttionaria*; but I am of a very different opinion from him in regard to the choice of readings. The ancient manuscripts of the Western edition, which others so highly extol, he describes as unworthy of notice: he calls it *scurrilis editio*, and he can hardly speak of it without losing his temper. Whoever wishes to have more information on this subject, may consult the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XX. N° 296. I shall retain the opinion, which I there advanced, that Matthäi, when he began the work, was at least an age behind the rest of Germany in the knowledge of sacred criticism<sup>106</sup>.

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## S E C T. II.

*Three positions, necessary to be observed in regard to the printed editions of the Greek Testament.*

**T**HOSE who would make a proper use of the account which has been given of the editions of the Greek Testament, must particularly observe in what manner the readings of the several editions are borrowed from the preceding, and how one edition is as it were the offspring of another. Properly speaking, there are only two fundamental editions of the Greek Testament, or in other words, only two editions taken immediately from manuscripts without the intervention of any printed edition, namely the Complutensian, and the first of Erasmus. After these come the editions of Robert Stephens,

Stephens, and of Beza, both of whom made alterations in the text, but at the same time made use of manuscripts. In the subsequent editions, though several of the editors made use of manuscripts, yet very few alterations were made in the text, except in the London edition of 1729, which however is unworthy of notice. It is true that Bengel published an improved text, yet he inserted no reading which had not already appeared in some printed edition. Wettstein made no alterations whatsoever in the text, but in the alterations which he proposed, he was guided not by printed editions, but by ancient authorities. The alterations, which he proposed, have been inserted in the text itself, in the edition published by Bowyer: but this edition is seldom used. There is however an edition in very general use, in which greater liberties have been taken with the text, I mean that of Griesbach<sup>1</sup>: in this, and the following section, therefore, when I speak of the editions of the Greek Testament, that of Griesbach must be considered as an exception<sup>2</sup>.

We may lay down the three following positions, from which it will appear, that those are mistaken, who are attached to the common readings.

1. The modern editors of the Greek Testament have not always selected the best readings of the four principal editions of the Greek Testament<sup>3</sup>. Besides, in the edition of Robert Stephens, a great deal was spoiled of what was valuable in the Complutensian; and again, of what was valuable in the edition of Robert Stephens, a great deal was spoiled in that of Beza. Now as our common editions have been chiefly taken from the latter, we have no reason to think that they are perfectly accurate. Yet many divines have extolled the common printed text, as if the editors themselves had been inspired. If the text of any one edition deserves to be retained unaltered, it is that of the Complutensian edition, because it is the *Editio princeps*. But we may lay it down as a general rule, 'that a reading is not the less authentic, because it has never appeared in print.'

2. The

2. The Protestants in general, before the time of Beza, or rather till some time after his publications, very imperfectly understood the criticism of the Greek Testament: they had much too mean an opinion of the Latin version, and for that reason they altered, or rather corrupted the text, on the authority of a few Greek manuscripts, some of which were of little or no value. Till after his time, the most important Greek manuscripts were either not examined at all, or not collated with sufficient accuracy, and the Oriental versions were almost totally neglected. It follows, therefore, that many of the genuine readings of the Greek Testament are not contained in any of the four principal editions, and consequently in none hitherto printed. We may lay down therefore the following rule: 'A reading is not to be rejected, because it is contained in no printed edition of the Greek Testament.'

3. In our common editions are many readings, which exist not in a single Greek manuscript, and are mere translations from the Latin<sup>2</sup>. This is a liberty, which Erasmus acknowledges to have taken in the last chapter of the book of Revelation, and in several other places he has taken the same liberty, without any acknowledgement. If, therefore, in these places Stephens and Beza followed the text of Erasmus, instead of the Complutensian, many readings have been transmitted into our common editions, which are to be found in no manuscript. We may except, however, such as have been altered by Bengel on the authority of the Complutensian edition. The following instance may be produced as a proof of what I have just advanced.

The long passage, Acts ix. 5, 6. *σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν Τρεμων τε και Θαμβων ειπε Κυρις τι με θελεις ποιησαι; και ο κυριος προς αυτον*, has been found in not a single Greek manuscript, not even in those which have been lately collated by Matthäi. It is likewise wanting in the Complutensian edition: but it was inserted by

<sup>2</sup> Some of them are founded on mere conjecture: for instance, *κατα*, John xviii. 24. See the notes of Bengel and Wettstein <sup>2</sup>.

by Erasmus, and upon his authority it has been adopted by the other editors of the Greek Testament. If it be asked whence Erasmus took it, we may reply, that he certainly did not take it from any Greek manuscript: for in that case it surely would have been discovered by other critics, especially as Bengel and Wettstein took all possible pains to find out the manuscripts, that were used by Erasmus. The advocates for this passage allege in its defence, that Erasmus, in his note to this passage, says, 'in *plerisque* Græcis codicibus id non additur hoc loco,' and conclude therefore that Erasmus must have found it at least in one manuscript, because he says not 'in omnibus,' but 'in *plerisque*.' Now, not to mention that Erasmus very frequently wrote in too great a hurry to attend to the accuracy of his expressions, it may be observed that he wrote, not 'in *meis* *plerisque*,' but 'in *plerisque*' in general: which he might have done, though the passage were wanting in all his own manuscripts, on the supposition that it might possibly exist in others, which he had never seen. This at least is certain, that the passage is in none of the manuscripts of Erasmus, as far as we have any knowledge of them: but it is literally contained in the Vulgate. We can draw, therefore, no other conclusion, than that Erasmus translated it from the Latin into Greek. The very evidence, that is produced in favour of its authenticity, proves its spuriousness, for the three witnesses produced in its favour, (beside the Vulgate), the Syriac, the Arabic of the Polyglot, and the Ethiopic, all disagree in their evidence. The Syriac has no more of this passage than the following words, 'it will be hard for thee to kick against the pricks;' and these are not in the fifth, but in the fourth verse, to which, according to the parallel passage ch. xxvi. 14. they properly belong. The Arabic of the Polyglot has, 'it will be hard for thee to kick against the pricks: and he answered saying, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' where there is nothing, which corresponds to *τρεμων τε και θαμβων*. The Ethi-



opic has; 'because thou persecutest<sup>b</sup>, it will turn to thine own misfortune: and as he trembled, they were astonished: and he said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? and the Lord said unto him'—a translation which seems to imply that the translator read *οτι συ διω-  
χεις, σκληρον σοι*, instead of *ου συ διωχεις, σκληρον σοι*, and *εθαμβεοντο* instead of *θαμβων*. If this interpolation, therefore, ever existed in Greek manuscripts, they must have had it in very different forms; it is therefore highly improbable that Erasmus had any Greek manuscript which agreed word for word with the Vulgate, and we must conclude that he acted here, as he did in several places in the Revelation, and that he gave his own translation. This passage then, which later editors have copied from Erasmus, and which is contained in our common editions, is not only spurious, but was not even taken from a Greek manuscript.

Another example is Acts x. 6: *ουτος λαλησει σοι τι σε  
δει ποιειν*, a passage which is not in the Complutenian edition, but was inserted by Erasmus, and copied from him in the subsequent editions. Bengel has observed that it is no Greek manuscript; but some of them have a similar interpolation, *ος λαλησει ρηματα προς σε, εν οις  
σωθηση συ, και πας ο οικος σε*, which corresponds to ch. ix. 14. Here again, therefore, Erasmus has translated into Greek the words of the Vulgate, *hic dicet tibi, quid te  
oporteat facere*<sup>6</sup>.

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### S E C T. III.

*Of the qualifications requisite for a critical edition of the  
Greek Testament,*

**I** WILL conclude this subject by pointing out the qualifications requisite for a critical edition of the Greek Testament, or in other words, for an edition, which be-  
side

<sup>b</sup> The words of the Ethiopic are falsely translated in the version of de Dieu, and in that of the Polyglot, namely, 'because thou persecutest the just.'

sive the text has a considerable number of various readings. It appears from the first section of this chapter that a critical edition of this kind is still wanting, and that not only Wettstein's predecessors are very imperfect in comparison with him, but that he himself has committed so many mistakes that we cannot always rely on him. It is therefore much to be wished that a new and complete collation might be made of all the manuscripts quoted by Wettstein, and his predecessors, before those precious remains of antiquity are lost.

1. I could wish that in this critical edition no alterations were made in the text, which I would have taken from the third edition of Robert Stephens. To this text the great collections of various readings have been adapted; if therefore they were placed under another text, it would create confusion, because they would not be various readings to that text. And, in the same manner as Kennicott required that all those, whom he employed in collating Hebrew manuscripts, should collate them with the edition published by Van der Hooght in 1705, one and the same edition of the Greek Testament likewise must be used.

It is no objection in this case, that Stephens's edition has some hundreds of faults, because collections of various readings are made for the use of the learned, who can select out of the number that which is the best; and if the editor thinks it necessary to point out to the reader the readings, which he prefers, he may do it by critical marks placed in the same manner, as Wettstein has done.

2. It is not my intention to assert, that an edition of the Greek Testament, with a more correct text, than that, which we have at present, is unnecessary: but then this edition should be of a smaller size. I commend Bengel for having published an improved edition of this kind, in which he corrected the text according to his own judgement: the same may be said of Bowyer's edition, and still more of that published by Griesbach. Nor would I have an editor confine himself to the rule adopted by Bengel, to insert no reading, which had

not already appeared in some printed edition : for this rule is too arbitrary, and would oblige an editor, instead of choosing the reading, which is supported by the best authority, to adopt in many cases such, as were inserted in the text of the early editions by mere accident. In the sixteenth century, sacred criticism was much less understood than at present, and the editors of that age had neither the industry of Mill, Bengel and Wetstein, nor a fifth part of the extracts, which they have quoted. The readings therefore, which the early editors adopted, must frequently have depended upon accident ; and, as the manuscripts, which they used, were very few, it is almost impossible, that the best reading should in every instance have been inserted in their editions.

But great caution should be used in altering the text of the Greek Testament ; for, as different critics entertain different sentiments in regard to what is the best reading, a confusion in the Greek text would be the unavoidable consequence, if every man had the liberty of altering at pleasure, which would be not only prejudicial to learners, but inconvenient to the learned themselves. Whoever publishes an improved text of the Greek Testament must consider, that it is not for the benefit of men of real learning, or such as have knowledge of sacred criticism, because men of this description will not choose to have rules prescribed to them, but will think proper to judge for themselves. The alterations, which are made in the text, are for the benefit of those who are unable to judge for themselves : and as the critic selects from several that which he esteems the best, so the editor, by inserting a new reading in the text, points out to scholars that which they ought to prefer. As the editor therefore undertakes to be a guide to others, great caution is requisite not to make unwarrantable alterations : he should not only insert no reading upon critical conjecture, but not even such, as are supported by the authority of manuscripts, unless the proportion of evidence be very decided in its favour\*. If from thirty thousand various readings we deduct fifteen thousand,

sand, which are of too little importance to deserve examination in this inquiry, though it is necessary on other accounts to quote them, we shall find that, of the remaining fifteen thousand, there are at least ten thousand, in which the proportion of evidence, for and against them, is nearly that of equality. Here then we must leave the matter undetermined. Of the remaining five thousand, suppose that an editor is of opinion, that three thousand five hundred are inferior in goodness to those of the common text, but that the remaining fifteen hundred are superior to those of the common text: yet of these fifteen hundred, there will be found perhaps hardly six hundred, of which he can positively assert, without violating the rules of modesty, and the respect which we owe to truth, ‘*sic lege meo periculo.*’ An instance of an alteration, which a man might safely make, is the omission of Acts ix. 5, 6. it was omitted by Bengel, and the greatest critics Beza, Grotius, Mill, and Wettstein are unanimous in condemning it.

If with the caution, which I have recommended, alterations are made in those places only, where we are absolutely certain that the present text is spurious, the new text would not be so different from the common one, as is generally imagined, especially if the editor was a man well skilled in sacred criticism. But if an edition was undertaken by men ignorant of the art of criticism, and whose propensity to correct was proportionate to their want of knowledge, we might expect an edition materially different from that, which is in common use.

3. We want a new and accurate critical edition of the Greek Testament, in which the whole collection of various readings, that are dispersed in the editions of Mill, Wettstein, Griesbach, and Matthäi, as far as they are correct, should be inserted. And since Mill and Wettstein frequently contradict each other, and neither of them has given complete extracts, it will be necessary to recollate all the manuscripts, editions, versions, the works

of the fathers, and of the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, which are quoted by Mill and Wettstein, and to compare with their extracts those which are the result of the new collation.

But this would be too great an undertaking for any single man; for the edge of his diligence would be blunted, and his eyes grow dim, in consequence of so vast an undertaking. Nor is it probable that a body of the learned will form a junction, in order to put the plan into execution; for the learned in general are not of so social a disposition. But perhaps without a formal junction, different persons might contribute their share of materials, toward a new edition of the Greek Testament, if they knew in what parts their services would most be wanted.

Those who have access to manuscripts, either from visiting the places, where they are preserved, or from residing there, would render an essential service to sacred criticism by making a new collation, even if it were confined to a single manuscript, provided that manuscript were ancient and valuable. Those, who have not access to manuscripts, might recollate the ancient versions. The extracts, which have been hitherto produced from the Arabic are of little or no value, because no distinction has been made between the different Arabic versions<sup>3</sup>; the extracts from the Armenian and the Coptic are extremely incomplete; even the Vulgate has not been collated with sufficient accuracy; and the editions of the old Latin versions, have been so lately published that the editors of critical editions have not been able to collate them<sup>4</sup>. Here then a new field is open to those who would engage in sacred criticism. Of the extracts from the writings of the fathers I have already spoken.

4. I will illustrate the method, which I would recommend in revising the old materials, by the example of manuscripts. These must be wholly recollated with the text of Stephens's third edition; and the collators must constantly have Mill and Wettstein at hand, partly to prevent their overlooking the readings, which those critics

critics have quoted right, partly to correct their mistakes, and when they contradict each other, to determine on which side the error lies. The new extracts should be carefully noted, not excepting those, which had been given by Mill and Wettstein: for this would render the matter more certain. But the grand object would be to find out all those readings, which Mill and Wettstein have either neglected, or falsely quoted.

If extracts of this kind were made and printed, either from a single or several manuscripts, they would be a valuable present to the public, and would serve as materials for a new edition of the Greek Testament. The more a collator adheres to matter of fact, in simply producing extracts, without intermixing his own remarks, the more the public will be obliged to him. In collations of this kind the principal object is to have the extracts in as short a compass as possible; and the collator, who has sufficient employment in merely making extracts, would do well, if he left to the learned in general, to make their remarks on the fruit of his labours.

It would be likewise of use, if those places were noted, in which the collated manuscripts agreed with Stephens's text, in opposition to the various readings: for we cannot immediately draw this conclusion merely from being tacitly informed, that a manuscript is not against it. The manuscript may have a chasm in the passage in question, the hand-writing may be illegible, or the collator himself may have been guilty of an oversight. At the same time I acknowledge, that if every example was noted, which confirmed not the various readings produced by Mill and Wettstein, the extracts would be far too voluminous, even if they were made from only a single manuscript. It seems then, that no other method can be well adopted, than to mark distinctly each chasm, and the parts, which have been collated, line for line; and to make the collation with such accuracy, that the reader may safely conclude from the silence of the collation to the absence of a reading. Yet the more voluminous extracts might be made, to be deposited in pub-

lic libraries for the use of critics, though only so much were printed, as would be necessary to supply and correct the editions of Mill and Wettstein.

5. As many ancient and important manuscripts, hitherto uncollated, are preserved in the imperial library at Vienna, the royal library in France, and in several Italian and Spanish libraries, those persons, who have access to them, would render a service to sacred criticism, if they communicated extracts of them. If they collated only one or two manuscripts, the extracts might be printed on a few sheets, in the same manner as those of the Codex Gehlianus, and of the two Codices Wolfiani. But I would not recommend to the collator to publish a new edition of the Greek Testament, with various readings from Mill and Wettstein, in order to augment them with his own extracts. For by these means the errors of Mill and Wettstein, instead of being corrected would be augmented, in consequence of the unavoidable errors of the press. Besides, it would unnecessarily augment the price of the materials requisite in sacred criticism, which ought at all times to be avoided, because the most learned are not always the most wealthy; and it would also create unnecessary difficulty, by obliging us to seek in a large folio, what might be contained in the compass of a few sheets. But if any man has collated ten or more manuscripts, it would not be improper to print with his extracts the text also of the Greek Testament, which would be of advantage to his readers, if he was contented with publishing his own extracts, without intermixing with them the extracts made by his predecessors, before they have been examined and corrected. I could wish to see an edition of the Greek Testament published in this manner, with various readings from all the manuscripts in the imperial library; and in editions of this kind notice might be taken of those manuscripts, which confirm the readings of the common text.

6. The proposals, which I have made in the preceding paragraphs, relate to what separate critics might perform, as preparatory to a correct critical edition of the Greek Testament.

Testament. But if these previous steps are not taken, a publisher of such an edition, as I would recommend, has no other resource, than to undertake himself to correct the extracts produced by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, and to make the necessary additions. It is true, that one man alone can hardly go through the task of collating so great a number of manuscripts; but as all those manuscripts, of which the antiquity exceeds a thousand years, are said to latinize, it would be necessary to collate others of the same antiquity, which have never been examined, and which are free from the suspicion of having been altered from the Latin. For, admitting the Latin readings to be good, yet they are certainly not the only readings, that existed a thousand years ago, since in that case we should not have so many opposite readings in the Greek manuscripts. It would be necessary therefore, in order to form an adequate judgement, to hear the evidence on both sides: and our collection of readings will not be complete, till we have extracts from manuscripts of an equal age with the Codex Alexandrinus, and of which we are assured that they do not latinize<sup>s</sup>.

But I acknowledge that this is too great an undertaking for any one man, without being assisted by others: for not only his zeal would soon be damped, and his eyes grow weary, but the life of one man is hardly sufficient for the purpose. Besides, it would require such an extensive knowledge of the European, Asiatic, and African languages, that I fear I am proposing, what one man alone could never execute. For the plan therefore to be well conducted, it must be made a national business. Germany is divided into too many petty states, to be able to form an union sufficient for the purpose; and I know of no country, except England, which possesses the will and the means to execute the task. Should a resolution be formed in this island so happily situated for promoting the purposes of general knowledge, to make the undertaking a public concern, to enter into a subscription, and to employ men of abilities in collating manuscripts  
both.



both at home and abroad, they would be able to do more in ten years, than could otherwise be done in a century. But if the project be deferred too long, the attempt may be fruitless, since England, though at present in a flourishing condition, is subject, like all other nations, to a change of fortune.

7. In a future edition of the Greek Testament, with a complete collection of various readings, it would be most adviseable to choose for a basis one of those, which have been already printed; in the same manner, as Küster made Mill's edition the basis of his own. It is true that men, who have more ambition than knowledge, would rather publish a work, that is perfectly new, than seem to tread in the footsteps of their predecessors<sup>b</sup>: but the ambition of the author may afford less advantage to the reader, than pleasure to himself. Every man, who undertakes a new work, is more exposed to the danger of mistake, than he, who builds on the solid foundation, which has been laid by another. And if this happens in philosophical subjects, where the understanding is employed in examining only a few positions, how much more frequently must it happen in the enumeration of a thousand times a thousand facts, where the utmost penetration and diligence are hardly sufficient, to insure a man from falling into error. But if we make Wetstein's or Mill's edition the foundation of the new one, we are exempted from mistakes in some hundred thousand quotations, which they have accurately given; and those, which they have given inaccurately, we shall be under the necessity of correcting, whether we make their editions the ground-work of our own; or publish an entire new work. And the world at large will have this peculiar advantage, that nothing will be lost of those extracts, which are quoted correctly by Mill, and Wetstein: a matter of great importance, as appears from the example of the latter

<sup>b</sup> I would not have it understood that I am here reflecting on any particular editor of the Greek Testament. Indeed I know no one, to whom the remark is applicable, as far as concerns an edition of the Greek Testament hitherto printed.

latter critic, who has omitted in numberless instances the quotations, which had been accurately given by his predecessor.

As we have the choice therefore either of Mill's or of Wetstein's Greek Testament, I would recommend the former as the foundation of the new edition, in which the additions, that were made by Wetstein might be easily inserted. Wetstein borrowed a great part of his materials from Mill, and these we shall probably find more correct in the original, than in the copy; Mill appears to have taken more pains than Wetstein, though he had less genius, and fewer opportunities of exercising his industry; and, what is the principal reason, the figures adopted by Wetstein make the references so very precarious, that it is impossible to retain them, without exposing ourselves to the danger, if a second and third edition should be printed, of creating a general confusion. Since therefore it is necessary to alter figures to names, it is better to accommodate Wetstein to Mill, than Mill to Wetstein<sup>6</sup>.

8. In order to assist the memory, and avoid errors of the press, I would recommend that the quoted manuscripts should be denoted not by single letters or figures, but by abbreviations<sup>7</sup>.

9. The order, which Wetstein has observed in quoting, 1<sup>st</sup> manuscripts, 2<sup>dly</sup> editions, 3<sup>dly</sup> ancient versions, 4<sup>thly</sup> the fathers, 5<sup>thly</sup> the opinion of eminent critics, is very just: and, at all events, whatever arrangement be adopted, it will be necessary to distinguish the different authorities in favour of a reading.

With respect to the Latin versions, as they are so numerous, and so important in the criticism of the Greek Testament, it would be proper to quote each manuscript by name, and not merely to quote, as Wetstein has done, the general title *Codices Latini*. We might use the abbreviations *Lat. Verc. Foroj. &c.* and thus carefully distinguish them from Greek manuscripts<sup>8</sup>. The voluminous and valuable publications of Sabatier and Blanchini deserve in particular to be collated, and should be

be examined with much more attention, than Mill and Wettstein bestowed on Latin manuscripts<sup>9</sup>. - In quoting the Codices Græco-Latini, the Latin text must be carefully distinguished from the Greek; but if we use only a general expression for both, we quote only one witness, where we ought to quote two, and leave it undetermined which of them we mean<sup>10</sup>.

10. The extracts from the Armenian, Coptic, and Arabic versions likewise must be more correct, than they have hitherto been<sup>11</sup>. What I have to observe in regard to extracts from the works of the fathers I have already mentioned, ch. ix. § 4. The writings also of the literati in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, who have formed collections of various readings should be quoted in evidence, if the manuscripts themselves are no longer known.

11. Lastly I would recommend, that the evidence for the readings of the text should be quoted, as well as the authorities for the various readings. It is true, that a critical edition of the Greek Testament would in that case be much more laborious to execute, as well as more voluminous, and expensive to the purchaser. Hitherto therefore it has been the usual practice, except in very particular cases, to quote only the authorities for the various readings, and to leave the words of the text unsupported by any evidence whatsoever. But this method is attended with a two-fold disadvantage. The one relates to the text itself; for when those, who are unacquainted with sacred criticism, observe that many manuscripts are quoted in favour of a various reading, they conclude that it is supported by more numerous, and by better authorities, than the reading of the text; whereas it frequently happens, even in such cases, that the evidence in favour of the text, though not quoted, is still more numerous and more respectable. I admit that no one could be guilty of this mistake, who was not wholly ignorant of the criticism of the New Testament: but since many, who belong to the class of literati, are really in this predicament, some method should be devised, to prevent them

them from falling into error<sup>12</sup>. The other disadvantage relates to the various readings themselves: for it often happens that the reading of the text is found only in a very few manuscripts, and sometimes in no manuscript at all; which does not immediately appear, when the evidence in favour of the text is wholly neglected. We should draw a too hasty and certainly ungrounded inference, if, because ten manuscripts were quoted in favour of a various reading, we concluded that all the other manuscripts, which contain the part of the Greek Testament in question, were in favour of the text: yet Whitby has fallen into this error in writing against Mill, because he was unacquainted with Mill's general plan. But when thirty or forty manuscripts are quoted against the text, it makes a very material difference, whether the number in its favour amounts to fifty, or only to ten, is confined to two or three, or perhaps reduced to nothing. To make this matter clear, I will produce an example. Wetstein quotes forty-five manuscripts, against the authenticity of the two verses, Acts ix. 5, 6. Now the whole number of manuscripts quoted by Wetstein in the Acts of the Apostles amounts to sixty-nine: if therefore we deduct those which are against the common text, there remain twenty-four, which have not been quoted against it. Of these twenty-four therefore, we might suppose that at least ten contained the passage in question: whereas the real fact is, that it is contained in not a single manuscript hitherto collated<sup>13</sup>. Another example is Acts x. 6. of which Wolf says, '*verba hæc in nonnullis codicibus desiderantur*:' but they are really wanting in all<sup>14</sup>. And with respect to the former instance, all that can be gathered from Wetstein's quotation is, that forty-one manuscripts omit the two verses, and that in four, its place is supplied by other interpolations<sup>15</sup>. A third example may be taken from Rom. ii. 5. where Wetstein does an injury to the reading, which he actually prefers. The common text is *αποκαλυψεως δικαιοκρισι-σias*, for which he proposed to substitute *αποκαλυψεως και δικαιοκρισι-σias*. It is true, that he quotes thirty-one ma-  
nuscripts

manuscripts in favour of the latter reading, to which I have added four more: yet from these circumstances alone we do not immediately perceive the reason, why it ought to be preferred. But we perceive it immediately on consulting Bengel; for he produces the authorities in favour of the common reading, without *καί*, and among these authorities there is not a single manuscript. Bengel therefore has brought the matter to a clear decision<sup>16</sup>. The inconveniencies, of which I have here complained, might be totally removed, if the authorities in favour of the text were quoted first, and then the authorities for the various readings: whereas the common method of quoting only on one side leaves us frequently in a state of uncertainty. If it were necessary to produce another instance, I would recommend to my readers to take *αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ 27. Αἰν. vii.* and see if they can form a judgment, from the evidence produced by Wettstein or Griesbach, whether the common, or the various reading is entitled to the preference<sup>17</sup>.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### OF THE MARKS OF DISTINCTION, AND DIVISIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

#### SECT. I.

*Of the points, and other distinctions of pause among the  
Greeks.*

HAVING thus acquainted ourselves with the various sources, which are necessary to be attained, before we can determine the true and genuine reading of the New Testament, a question arises, whether certain marks in the New Testament, which are not letters, belong to the readings of the New Testament; whether those notes or marks were used by the Apostles, and are

to be received by us, whenever they are confirmed by sufficient manuscripts, and other critical authorities?

The marks in question, are those stops or points, which we call comma, colon, full stop, and note of interrogation, the iota subscriptum, and the two aspirations. If the Apostles themselves added these points to the words, we are bound to receive them, as they stand in some manuscripts, and in almost all the printed editions of the New Testament. But if they do not proceed from the Apostles, then no manuscripts, and no printed edition will oblige us to receive them; they will be considered as explanations of the ancients, from which we may depart, upon discovering something, which appears to us more satisfactory.

As the interpretation of the New Testament often depends upon these points, it is a question of importance.

## SECT. II.

*The points in the New Testament are modern.*

THE subject of the punctuation of the New Testament has been amply discussed by G. Fr. Rogall, in his *Dissertatio de auctoritate et antiquitate interpunctionis in Nov. Testam. Regiom. 1734*. I shall make great use of this work in the present section, though I find myself under the necessity of differing from him sometimes in opinion.

It is certain, that, in the time of the Apostles, the Grecians used points or stops<sup>1</sup>. A point at the top was equivalent to our full stop; in the middle it signified a colon; and at the bottom, it amounted either to our semicolon, or comma. They are thus described by Dionysius the Thracian, who lived at Rome in the time of Pompey, in his treatise on grammar<sup>\*</sup>; and by Diomedes, in his second book *De oratione*<sup>2</sup>. But it is likewise certain, that these points were not used in common, but only

<sup>\*</sup> See Fabricii *Bibl. Græca*, L. V. c. 7. Tom. VII. p. 261

only in the schools of grammarians, who endeavoured thereby to facilitate the reading of Homer to their scholars. They laid a great stress upon the points, and some spent their whole lives in teaching them, and noting them in books.

Rogall endeavours indeed to prove, from the ninth book of Anastasii Sinaitæ *Contemplationes anagogicæ* in *Hexæmeron*, that they were used in other books. The passage, which he quotes, is postquam Moses dixit: 'Et ædificavit Dominus Deus costam;' magnus Clemens (Alexandrinus) faciens perfectum punctum, et tunc versus faciens initium, subjunxit: 'Quam accepit Adam in mulierem.' Et mihi videtur pie admodum attendisse distinctionem. Nam Theodotion quoque sic distinxit idem verbum. But from these words nothing further is to be gathered, than that Clemens Alexandrinus made use of a point, in explaining the words of Moses differently from the common acceptation, in order to render his new exposition more intelligible to the reader. Nor is much to be concluded from what he says of Theodotion, since that translator of Scripture was probably no other than a grammarian, and assisted his translation of the Old Testament by points, as other grammarians did the works of Homer. The Apostles on the contrary were not grammarians by profession; and most of their writings now extant are Letters, some of which were written to intimate friends. Is it credible, that they would accurately mark these with points, which were not in use any where but in the schools? This at least is certain, that the ancient fathers, in cases which relate to grammatical construction, do not appeal to points, but merely to the general context.

Even if we admitted that the Apostles wrote with points, it would be of no consequence to us, as those points are no longer in existence. For our most ancient manuscripts are without points, and in the modern manuscripts which have them, they were not copied from ancient documents, but were added by the transcribers of their own authority.

There

There was another method of dividing discourse, by writing in one line as many words, as might be in some degree intelligible, when joined together; these united were called *ενημα*; we should call them a comma, or sentence. We shall have occasion to make further mention of them hereafter, and we shall find, that the ancients did certainly divide the New Testament into those sentences, of which they reckoned 2522 in St. Matthew, 1675 in St. Mark, &c. But it is no necessary consequence, that the Apostles wrote their epistles in the same manner; and if they had, yet a doubt would remain, which words belonged to each sentence, since the ancient manuscripts, which we have of the New Testament, are not written in these sentences<sup>4</sup>.

Some again used no other distinction of pause, but that of placing a point, or leaving a blank, where the sense of the period ended. This is the case of several manuscripts of the New Testament, and particularly of the Alexandrine. Possibly these distinctions ought not to be rejected wholly: and it is not unlikely, that the Apostles sometimes made use of them. But it is pity, that they who have delivered to us extracts from these manuscripts, do not point out where these stops were made<sup>5</sup>.

The whole of this subject then may be reduced to the following propositions:

1. Our point, colon, comma, and note of interrogation, are modern, and of no authority.

2. The Apostles probably denoted by a point, or a blank, where the sense of a discourse terminated.

3. Whoever desires to know, with some degree of probability, where these points or blanks were placed, must consult the most ancient manuscripts, and the versions which were made from the most ancient manuscripts. And even this will lead him no further than to a small degree of probability.

4. The best rule for determining the proper place of a point or stop in the New Testament, is to follow the most approved exegetical rules, in explaining each passage.



## S E C T. III.

*Origin of the present points in the New Testament.*

**I**F it be asked, whence come the present points in the New Testament, their history is briefly this :

It is possible, and perhaps probable, that some were used in the first collection, that was made of the books of the New Testament. In the most ancient versions I have met with instances of false translation, which seem to have been occasioned by an improper arrangement of the stops, and where different translators have differently attempted to evade the difficulty, which that false arrangement occasioned. There is a difficulty attending Acts x. 1, 2, 3. as it is at present stopped. This difficulty some have attempted to remove, by leaving out *ην*, while others, among whom may be reckoned the Syriac and the Latin translator, have rendered the passage as if they had found *ουτος ειδεν* in the third verse ; the one having *ην* *ησαν*, the other, *vidit*. Now the whole passage would be clear, if we divided the Greek text in the following manner : *Ανηρ δε τις ην εν Καισαρεια ονοματι Κορνηλιος, εκατονταρχης εκ σπειρης της καλουμενης Ιταλικης, ευσεβης και φοβουμενος τον Θεον συν παντι τω οικω αυτου, ποιων τε ελεημοσυνας πολλας τω λαω. Και δεομενος του Θεου διαπαντος ειδεν εν οραματι, κ.τ.λ.*<sup>6</sup> It is therefore not impossible that a very early mistake in the pointing occasioned these differences. But as the thought is new, I will not be positive, but submit it to the consideration of the learned.

In the fourth century, Jerom began to add the comma and colon to the Latin version ; and they were then inserted in many more ancient manuscripts.

In the fifth century, Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, divided the New Testament into lines. This division was regulated by the sense, so that each line ended where some pause was to be made in speaking. And when a copyist was disposed to contract his space, and therefore crowded the lines into each other, he then placed

placed a point, where Euthalius had terminated the line<sup>7</sup>.

In the eighth century, the stroke was invented which we call a comma<sup>8</sup>. In the Latin manuscripts, Jerom's points were introduced by Paul Warnfried and Alcuin, at the command of Charlemagne.

In the ninth century the Greek note of interrogation (;) was first used<sup>9</sup>.

At the invention of printing, the editors placed the points arbitrarily, probably without bestowing the necessary attention; and Stephens in particular varied his points in every edition.

As this section is only an extract from Rogall's Dissertation, I refer the reader to that for a proof of this history. It will there appear, how little stress is to be laid upon the present points in the New Testament, and how much they are mistaken, who argue the connection or disjunction of words from the content of all the editions.

I will subjoin an observation with respect to the Codex Alexandrinus, because the marks of distinction in this MS. have been very accurately described, and lie open, at present, to the view of every reader. According to Woide, it has not only the full stop, comma, and colon, but likewise a kind of semicolon<sup>10</sup>. In the beginning of a new section it has likewise longer letters, which are prefixed, not always to the first word in the section, but sometimes to the first word in the next line: for instance, Mark v. 25.

αὐτον· και γυνουσαιεν

Πυρσαιματος εν δωδεκα. See Woide's preface, § 30, 31.

## SECT. IV.

*Of obscure passages in the Greek Testament, which might be rendered clear by a better arrangement of the stops.*

**M**ANY obscurities in the text of the Greek Testament have been occasioned by an improper position of the stops, and it is the duty of every commen-

tator to remedy this inconvenience by occasional alterations, and not servilely to adhere to the present arrangement. Bowyer, in his *Critical Conjectures of the New Testament*, has noted likewise the conjectures of the learned, in regard to the position of the stops<sup>11</sup>. It is true, that variations in the stops do not properly belong to the class of what critics call, in the strict sense of the word, various readings; for these are determined by actual evidence, whereas no evidence can well be produced with respect to the stops, since the most ancient manuscripts were without them<sup>12</sup>. But Bowyer has acted very judiciously in collecting the opinions of the learned on the one as well as on the other, and by so doing he has rendered his work indispensable to the commentator, as well as to the critic; though the former perhaps might have wished that the conjectural emendations, in regard to the stops, had been separated from those which respect the readings.

Of passages in the Greek Testament, which have suffered through false stopping, the following is a remarkable instance, and is noted by Bowyer. Matth. v. 34. is commonly stopped in the following manner, *εγω δε λεγω υμιν, μη ομοσαι ολως μητε εν τῷ θρανῳ, κ. τ. λ.* where a colon being placed after *ολως* confines it to *ομοσαι*, and makes the sentence expressive of a command to take an oath in no case whatsoever; a command, which, if strictly followed, would in a great measure loosen the bands of society. The person who signs himself R. in Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures*<sup>13</sup>, proposes therefore to reject the colon after *ολως*, for which we might substitute a comma, and point the passage as follows, *εγω δε λεγω υμιν, μη ομοσαι ολως, μητε εν τῷ θρανῳ, κ. τ. λ.* According to this arrangement the meaning of the passage would be, 'But I command you by no means to swear, either by heaven, for it is his throne, or by earth, for it is his footstool,' &c. The command of Christ therefore applies particularly to the abuse of oaths among the Pharisees, who on every trivial occasion swore, by the heaven, the earth, the temple, the head, &c. but it implies no prohibition to take

take an oath in the name of the Deity, on solemn and important occasions.

Numerous examples of this kind may be found in Bowyer, to which I will add the four following: Luke i. 78, 79. *ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὑψους, ἐπιφανὶ τοῖς ἐν σκότει, κ.τ.λ.* ‘the day spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness,’ &c. is a very extraordinary sentence, because the expression *ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὑψους* seems to involve a contradiction. But this inconvenience may be entirely remedied merely by an alteration in the stops, and by placing them in the following manner: *ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ, ἐξ ὑψους ἐπιφανὶ τοῖς ἐν σκότει, κ.τ.λ.* for the passage will then be translated, ‘the day spring hath visited us, to shine from on high to those who sit in darkness,’ &c. Another passage, John i. 8, 9, 10. is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty, as the words are stopped at present, which difficulty may be removed by placing the stops as follows: *Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ’ ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός. Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχομένον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, κ.τ.λ.* ‘He was not that light, but was to bear witness of that light. The true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, was in the world,’ &c. John xiv. 11, 12. should be stopped in the following manner; *Εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτὰ πιστεύετε μοι, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ.* ‘But if ye believe not on account of the works themselves, I assure you for certain,’ &c. John xvii. 3. where I think Bowyer has proposed a false arrangement, should be stopped in the following manner: *ἵνα γινώσκῃς σε, τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ, ὃν ἀπέστειλās Ἰησοῦν, Χριστόν.* ‘That they may acknowledge thee, to be the only true God, and Jesus whom thou hast sent, to be the anointed. Of Acts x. 1—3. I have spoken in the preceding section. Rom. i. 1—4. has been hitherto attended with an almost insuperable difficulty, and I have been sometimes induced to hazard a critical conjecture, in order to remove it; but I have since found that the same effect may be produced by a different arrangement of the stops. In order

der to make this matter more clear, I will at the same time divide this passage into four portions, different from its present division into verses, and write it in the following manner :

Παυλος, δulos Ιησu Χρισtu, κλητος αποστολος, αφωρισμενος εις ευαγγελιον

ΘΕΟΥ, ο προεπηγγειλατο δια των προφητων αυτε εν γραφαις αγιαις,

περι τε ΤΙΟΥ αυτε, τε γενομενου εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ κατα σαρκα, τε ορισθεντος υιου Θεου εν δυναμει·

κατα ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΓΙΩΣΤΗΝ, ΕΞ αναστασεως νεκρων τε κυριu ημων Ιησu Χρισtu.

Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the Gospel

Of God, as he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures, which Gospel relates

To his son, who in respect to his human nature was of the seed of David, but in effect was shewn to be the son of God,

Through the effusion of the Holy Spirit, which was given after the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead.

An example of less consequence is 2 Cor. v. 17. Here I would propose to leave out the comma after *χρισtu*, and arrange the stops in the following manner : *ει τις εν χρισtu καινη κτισις, τα αρχαια παρηλθεν*, ‘ if any man in Christ is a new creature, old things are passed away.’

No part of the whole Bible has suffered so much from a false arrangement of the stops, as the epistle to the Ephesians, in which many passages have been thus rendered obscure, and even deprived of meaning. Indeed the number is so great as to prevent me from producing examples, since in this epistle alone there are at least two chapters, in which it would be necessary to make a totally new arrangement.

I would divide 1 Tim. iii. 16. in the following manner : *Θεος εφανερωθη, εν σαρκι εδικαιωθη, εν πνευματι ωθη αγγελοις*. ‘ God was revealed, (that is, made visible to mortals), was punished in the flesh, (namely, in the hu-

man body, which he had assumed), he suffered for our iniquity, in spirit appeared to angels.' If the reading *ος*, be preferred to *εις*, the meaning of the passage is, 'He, who was revealed to men, suffered in his body, in spirit appeared to angels.' I have observed, ch. iv. § 14. that *δικαιωσις* is sometimes used in the sense of punio<sup>14</sup>, and it is particularly applied to capital punishments, to which St. Paul alludes Rom. vi. 7. The words *σαρξ* and *πνευμα* likewise are used 1 Pet. iii. 18. in the same sense, as I have here ascribed to them. But, as many of my readers will perhaps doubt of the translation, which I have given of the above-mentioned passage, I propose it only to their consideration, without insisting on its being the true one.

In my remarks on the epistle to the Hebrews, ch. vi. 2 I have proposed another example. Heb. ix. 19. also a difficulty may be removed by translating in the manner, which I have proposed, p. 292. of the new edition, in the postscript. According to that translation, a comma must be placed after *βελιον*.

## SECT. V.

*The blank spaces between the words are not genuine.*

**E**VEN the blank spaces at the end of words are not ancient. The Greeks formerly wrote their words without any separation, and the most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament are written in this manner. But those of a later date than the ninth century began to leave a space between the words<sup>15</sup>. If therefore it were to be asked, whether Rom. vii. 14. ought to be read *οιδα μεν*, 'I know,' or *οιδαμεν*, 'we know,' whether Gal. i. 9. should be *προειρηκαμεν*, or *προειρηκα μεν*, whether Philip i. 1. should be read *συν επισκοποις*, 'together with the bishops,' or *συνεπισκοποις*, 'the coadjutors of the bishops,' these questions cannot be decided from our editions of the Greek Testament, nor from manuscripts, nor

from ancient versions, but merely by the sound rules of interpretation. The following is an instance, in which a different division of the letters, from that which is at present received, would make a passage clear, that is now obscure. After all the pains which have been taken by the commentators, the words ο λογος ο εμος ου χωρει εν υμιν are still attended with some obscurity. Perhaps ου χωρει should be written ουχ ωρει, 'non manet,' ωρειω being derived from ωρα, 'tempus.' See Stephani Thesaurus, Vol. IV. p. 795. But as ωρειω is a very unusual word, it did not occur to the transcribers, when the practice was first introduced of writing the words with intervals between them, and they consequently made a false division<sup>16</sup>.

## S E C T. VI.

*The Iota subscriptum is suspicious.*

**O**F the Iota subscriptum\*, see Majoris Epist. de Iotorum subscriptione suspecta, eorumque præsertim ex nummis perpetuo exilio. Kiel. 1688.

There is no instance among the ancient Greeks of their writing the iota, in the form of a point, or a small stroke under a letter, except the few instances quoted by Reinesius in his Syntagma antiquarum inscriptionum, which however he has not copied himself. Hence Major conjectures, that it was only added by travellers, who furnished Reinesius with inscriptions from ancient monuments. But we are not concerned about the form of it so much, as about the iota itself; and it cannot be denied, that the ancient Greeks sometimes wrote a common iota in those places, where we write the iota subscriptum, or instead of it, they wrote a figure somewhat resembling the figure (6): and sometimes wholly omitted

\* We commonly call it Iota subscriptum, though in some of the manuscripts it is written *over* the letters. See p. 23, of the Preface to Hwuid's treatise de codice Lambeciano 34.

ted the iota<sup>17</sup>. He alleges instances of both ways of writing it. He himself had a medal with the inscription, THAPETH, and Vaillant, Tom. II. num. Imp. p. 25. describes a medal with the inscription KAICAPI CE-BACTΩ KPHTEC. On the other hand, Cuper, in his *Expositio marmorum antiquorum*, quotes from an ancient monument,

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ

ΘΕΑΙ ΠΑΝΑΓΑΘΩΙ<sup>18</sup>.

It seems to me, that the Greeks, in conformity to their language at that time, omitted the iota in writing; and when they used it, they did this in imitation of antiquity, or it was an Archaism, which was common in medals and on monuments<sup>19</sup>. The most ancient manuscripts, the Alexandrine, for instance, and that of St. Germain, have not the least trace of an iota subscriptum. Nor has the Codex Stephani, according to Griesbach, p. lxvii. of his *Symbolæ*, either iota subscriptum, or postscriptum<sup>20</sup>. In the margin of the Philoxenian version likewise the Greek words are written without it: for instance Matth. ii. 17. v. 41. xxii. 29. xxvi. 23. xxvii. 59. Mark xii. 34, &c. Probably therefore the Apostles did not use it; and in answering the question, whether *αναγκη* in Rom. xiii. 5. be the nominative or the dative case, recourse must be had, not to the iota subscriptum, or to the omission of it, but to the rules of construction.

## S E C T. VII.

*The Spiritus asper is suspicious.*

**T**HE Spiritus asper, or that mark, which corresponds to the Latin H, was undoubtedly in use among the ancient Greeks. Their H was at first a Spiritus asper, and was taken from the Hebrew ה, and was retained in the same figure H in Latin. The Greek H was used in ancient monuments, instead of a Spiritus asper, and the same letter stands for 100, because they wrote the word *ἑκατον* thus, HEKATON<sup>21</sup>.

But



But it is also certain, that the ancient Grecians did not judge it necessary always to express this aspiration upon their monuments. Thus upon a medal of the Tyrians we find  $\text{IEPAC}^{\text{22}}$ . See the above quoted essay of Major, p. 24. And the Spiritus lenis is not at all to be met with in any Grecian monuments or medals<sup>23</sup>.

In those manuscripts, in which these aspirations occur, they are thus expressed<sup>24</sup>:

Spiritus lenis ' or  $\text{J}$  or  $\text{O}$

Spiritus asper ' or  $\text{L}$  or  $\text{C}$

It is therefore very doubtful, whether the latter aspiration was in common use in the time of the Apostles; and it becomes much more doubtful, when we consider, that the most ancient versions so frequently confound  $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\omega$  with  $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ , that both words seem to have been written without any aspiration.

## S E C T. VIII.

*All the accents of the New Testament are spurious.*

**W**E come now to the Accents, the difference of which is so often made to determine the different signification of Greek words. The questions upon this subject are two,

1. Whether the ancient Grecians ever pronounced their language according to accent?
2. Whether the accents in the New Testament have been added by the authors of the books themselves, or by others?

As to the first question, some totally reject the accents, on the supposition that they would confound the quantity, as it is determined by the rules of prosody. Hence Beza, Scaliger, Ger. Jo. Vossius, de arte Grammatica, Lib. II. p. 174. Isa. Vossius, de poematum cantu et viribus rhythmici, p. 23. and Salmasius in Epistola ad Sarravium have rejected them. Henni-  
nius

nus has distinguished himself on the same side in a book entitled, *Ελληνισμος ορθωιδος*, seu dissertatio paradoxa, Græcam linguam non esse pronuntiandam secundum accentus, 1664. This last has been answered by Jo. Rud. Wetstein, in his *Dissertatio epistolica de accentibus Græcorum*, printed in his *Dissertationes de linguæ græcæ græca et genuina pronuntiatione*, Amst. 1686. He evinces by sufficient arguments, that the Greeks, long before the birth of Christ, regulated their pronounciation by accents, very much like those that are now in use \*. But he at the same time admits, that there is, in some respects, a difference betwixt the ancient and modern accents; that the old grammarians were at war upon the subject of accents, and never came to a treaty of peace; and that accents were not used, except in the schools of grammarians, who made use of them in reading the old poets <sup>26</sup>.

The principal objection, that accents do not coincide with the prosody of the Greek poets, and are therefore to be considered, as a modern corruption of the Greek language, has been removed by the dissertation of Professor Gesner, *De accentuum genuina pronuntiatione*, printed in 1755. His opinion amounts to this, that the accents do not at all determine which syllable is to be pronounced longest; that the accent, for instance, of *ἄνθρωπος* being placed on the first syllable, does not oblige us to pronounce the word as a dactyl; that as the Greeks spake more musically than we, they pronounced some syllables more distinctly than others; that they raised their tone and dropped it; and that the elevation and fall of the tone was determined by the accents <sup>27</sup>. His opinion seems to me very probable, and we need only hear a native of Hungary speak his own, or the German language distinctly, and we shall find, that he pronounces the syllables strictly according to prosodical quantity,

\* There are accents in some of the manuscripts which have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum. See Hwiüd Libellus criticus de codice Lambeciano 34, on the title-page.

quantity, and yet raises some syllables, which are not the longest in the word. I cannot express myself so clearly to the reader, as I might, if my paper could speak<sup>28</sup>.

As to the second question, the best advocates for accents have not contended, that the ancient Grecians made use of them in common books, much less in letters, but only in their schools; and they are not at all to be met with in the copies of the New Testament still extant, which are antecedent to the eighth century, and but seldom in those, which are more modern<sup>29</sup>. I cannot therefore admit, that the accents in the New Testament were written by the Apostles. They were probably first added by Euthalius, in the year 458. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 73.

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## S E C T. IX.

### *Of the ancient and modern chapters.*

**T**HE ancients divided the New Testament into two kinds of chapters, some longer and some shorter. See Simon's Hist. crit. du Texte du Nov. Test. ch. 33. and Martianay's Prolegomena to the edition of the old Latin version of St. Matthew. The longer kind of chapters were called in Greek *τιτλοι*, and the Latin brevis, and the table of the contents of each brevis, which was prefixed to the copies of the New Testament, was called *breviarium*. The shorter chapters were called *κεφαλαια*, capitula, and the list of them was called *capitulatio*.

This method of dividing is of very great antiquity, and Simon, p. 427. refers to some of the earliest fathers of the church, who make mention of it. It appears to have been more ancient than Jerom, among other arguments, from this, that he expunged a passage out of the New Testament, which makes an entire chapter; it is that which I have printed in this Introduction at the end of chap. vi. sect. 9. This was before his time the twentieth brevis, and the seventy-fifth capitulum, in the old Latin version.

But

But there were formerly many of these divisions, and none of them was received by the whole church. St. Matthew, for instance, contains, according to the old breviaria, 28 breves, but according to Jerom 68. Jerom divides his Gospel into 355 capitula, others into 74, others into 88, others into 117, the Syriac version into 76, and Erpenius's edition of the Arabic into 101. One of these divisions, however, was more approved than the rest, for Eusebius regulated his canon of the four Gospels by it, and Jerom likewise made use of it. Tatian is said to have been the author of it, with respect to the breves, and Ammonius, who lived at Alexandria in the third century, with respect to the capitula<sup>30</sup>. See Rumpæi Com. critica ad libros Nov. Test. p. 132. According to this division St. Matthew contains 68 breves, and 355 capitula; St. Mark 48 breves, and 234 capitula; St. Luke 83 breves, and 342 capitula; and St. John 18 breves, and 231 capitula. All the Evangelists together 217 breves, and 1126 capitula<sup>31</sup>.

The division of the epistles was later, and all that is observable in them is, that the number of the chapters is continued in one series throughout St. Paul's epistles, because they are considered as one book<sup>32</sup>.

But this whole division was laid aside, and the famous Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro introduced the chapters now in use<sup>33</sup>. This eminent commentator lived in the twelfth century, and published a Biblia cum postilla. This is the first Bible divided into the usual chapters, which he subdivided again by adding in the margin the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, for the convenience of quotations and references<sup>34</sup>. As Rumpæus has treated fully of this matter in his Comm. crit. ad libros Nov. Test. sect 35. I shall add nothing further upon it, except only this, that our chapters are only helps for the more easily finding passages quoted from the New Testament, but that whoever reads the Bible by single chapters, will be often in the dark, and at a loss for the meaning of the Apostles, since the chapters often end abruptly in the middle of a connected discourse: for instance Eph. v. 1. and Col. iv. 1.



## S E C T. X.

*Of the ancient division of the New Testament into lines, or verses.*

**T**HE ancients had two kinds of verses, one of which they call *στίχοι*, and the other *ῥήματα*.

*Στίχοι* were only lines, which contained a certain number of letters, and therefore often broke off in the middle of a word. It was by these *stichi* or lines, that the size of books was measured. Josephus's twenty books of Jewish Antiquities contained 60,000 of them, though in Ittigius's edition those books consist of no more than 40,000 broken lines. If I remember right, Rogall, in his *Dissert. de interpunctione Nov. Test.* mistakes these lines for commas<sup>25</sup>.

In order to understand this, we should have a clear idea of the ancient manner of writing. They divided their leaves very exactly by lines, upon which they wrote; each leaf had the same number of lines, and each line the same number of letters. We still discover in some manuscripts the lines by which they wrote. Six or eight of these leaves were joined together, and the former were called *ternio*, the latter *quaternio*. See Simon's *Hist. crit. du Texte du N. T.* p. 420. and Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 2. It was easy by these means to determine with great accuracy the size of books.

*ῥήματα* were lines which were measured by the sense. Of these I have treated already in the 2<sup>d</sup> section. Simon, in his *Hist. crit. du Texte du Nov. Test.* detects a strange error of Croius in his *Observationes sacræ in Nov. Test.* notwithstanding Rumpæus transcribes from Croius, that these *ῥήματα* were words. It is surprizing that these men could, without being astonished at what they wrote, affirm, that St. Matthew contained 2522 words, and 2560 verses. According to an ancient

cient written list, which we have in Simon, p. 423. there were of these *σηματα*<sup>36</sup> in

St. Matthew	2600	1 Epist. to Timothy	208
St. Mark	1600	2 Epist. to Timothy	288
St. Luke	2900	Epistle to Titus	140
St. John	2000	Epistle to Philemon	50
The Acts	2600	1 Epistle of Peter	200
Epist. to the Romans	1040	2 Epistle of Peter	140
1 Epist. to the Co-	} 1060	Epist. of James	220
rinthians		1 Epistle of John	220
2 Epist. to the Co-	} 1070	2 Epistle of John	20
rinth. 70, or rather		3 Epistle of John	20
Galatians	350	Epist. of Jude	60
Ephesians	375	Revelation	1200
Colossians	251		

Total 18,612

Though I have transcribed this list, I have no inclination to warrant it; for the many round or even numbers render it very suspicious.

It was the custom formerly to place these lists at the end of the books, that the reader might see whether any thing had been omitted by the copyists. And in this respect it may be affirmed, that if the primitive Christians did not number the words, they numbered the letters of the New Testament<sup>37</sup>.

## SECT. XI.

*Of the present verses.*

THE Verses, into which the New Testament is now divided, are more modern, and an imitation of the division of the Old Testament; Robert Stephens, the first inventor, introduced them in his edition of the year 1551. He made this division on a journey from Lyons to Paris, and, as his son Henry tells us, in the preface to the Concordance of the New Testament, he made it inter equitandum. I apprehend this must mean, that when he was weary of riding, he amused himself with

with this work at his inn. The wild and indigested invention of the learned printer was soon introduced into all the editions of the New Testament; and it must be confessed, that, in quoting and consulting the Bible, there is great use in the division into verses. At least no Concordance could have been made, if the New Testament had not been subdivided into smaller parts. But the interpretation of this sacred book has suffered greatly by this division. For, not to mention that Stephens often ends a verse at the wrong place, against the sense of the passage, the division itself is quite contrary to the nature of the epistles, which are connected; whereas separate verses appear to the eyes of the learned, and to the minds of the unlearned, as so many detached sentences. Hence arose the custom of explaining each verse separately, which has sometimes produced a very false interpretation. Rud. Wetstein and Chr. Fr. Sinner have shewn this inconvenience, in particular dissertations, *De distinctionibus Nov. Test.* and Rumpæus, in his *Comm. crit. in Nov. Test.* sect. 37. enumerates the other complainants on this head, among whom we must reckon Mr. Locke, in his essay for the understanding of St. Paul's epistles. It is to be wished, that the verses had been formed, not from the sense, but from the number of letters, like the *stichi* of the ancients, for in that case, they could not have done such violence to the meaning of the author. However, it is now become necessary, unless we resolve to render useless all the theological works hitherto published, to abide by Stephens's division, and only to take care, in editions of the New Testament, not to break off the line with the verse. The verses may be continued without interruption, and the Bible may be rendered equally useful for references, by printing the numbers in the margin, as Bengel has done in his edition of the Greek Testament<sup>38</sup>.

END OF VOL. II. PART I.



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